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Abbreviations used in issues of this Journal:

GMO Grove Music Online, ed. D. Root

<<http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

IMCCM The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music, ed.

A. Ashbee, R. Thompson

and J. Wainwright, I (Aldershot, 2001); II (Aldershot, 2008). Now online at

<www.vdgs.org.uk/indexmss.html>

MGG2 Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. L. Finscher

<<http://www.mgg-online.com>>

ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Goldman

<www.oxforddnb.com>.

RISM Repertoire internationale des sources musicales.

www.rism.info

Editorial

François-Pierre Goy's impressive research into the British careers of members of the Saint-Colombe family is the first of two French-related articles in this Journal. He admits that more questions than answers still remain about them, but he presents an amazing amount of new discoveries along the way. Jonathan Dunford introduces us to another shadowy figure – Jean Cappus – and he has delved into the archives at Dijon to build up a picture of the man and his music. Yves Beuvarud supplements this with a description of the cantata *Semélé* (which can be viewed on the Gallica website). Cappus's *Pieces de Viole* is also available there, so I will add the pieces to our *Thematic Index* in time for the 2018 update. The hope remains that further lost viol pieces by Cappus will re-emerge. David Pinto presents an intriguing solution to the enigmatic Parsley's Clock. Yet more C.F. Abel music has emerged, requiring a further revision of the catalogue which Peter Holman compiled. With Peter's agreement Günter von Zadow has kindly undertaken this latest revision – and again he is publishing the newly discovered pieces. Two important books are reviewed:: Michael Fleming and John Bryan's *Early English Viols: Instruments Makers and Music*, and David Smith's welcome *Musica Britannica* edition of the consort music of Philips and Dering.

Andrew Ashbee

The ‘British’ Sainte-Colombes

FRANÇOIS-PIERRE GOY

Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe le fils, whose six finely crafted suites for solo bass viol are known only through manuscript GB-DRc A 27,¹ seems as regards his biography yet more elusive than his celebrated and nevertheless mysterious father. Some years ago, Jonathan Dunford took stock of the few facts then available about him: three references, all without a first name, the one in Edinburgh in the first semester of 1707, both others in London, in 1713 and 1715–1716,² while Peter Holman pointed out his involvement in a concert supposedly held in Edinburgh in 1695.³

The increasing number of archival sources available on the internet has now made further biographical research possible. Confronting Scottish and English parish registers⁴ with the musical and literary testimonies mentioned above has—somewhat unexpectedly—led me to distinguish between *two* ‘British’ Sainte-Colombes, whose presence is attested, for one in Edinburgh from the

1 They make up in all 36 pieces, among which a *Tombeau de M. de Sainte-Colombe le père*. Suites nos 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 have been edited and recorded by J. Dunford: Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe le fils, *Tombeau pour Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe le Père, Précédé d'une Fantaisie et de 4 Suites pour la Viole de Gambe* (Strasbourg, 1998); Sainte-Colombe le fils, *Tombeau pour Mr de Sainte-Colombe le Père: 5 Suites pour Viole Seule* (Adès 206042, recorded 1997). Jordi Savall has subsequently recorded the six suites: Mr de Sainte-Colombe le fils, *Pièces de Viole* (AliaVox AV9827A-B, recorded 2003). The *Tombeau* has been edited separately by Margaret Sampson with a reconstructed continuo part: Le Sieur de Sainte-Colombe le fils, *Tombeau for le Sieur de Sainte-Colombe (le Père) for Bass Viol and Keyboard*, ed. M. Sampson, Viola da Gamba Series, 9 (Ottawa, 1980).

2 J. Dunford, ‘The Sainte-Colombe Enigma: Current State of Research’, *A Viola da Gamba Miscellanea*, ed. S. Orlando (Limoges, 2005), 16–17. This collection of essays gathers a selection of lectures from several conferences about the viol held in Limoges in the 1990s.

3 P. Holman, ‘An early Edinburgh Concert’, *Early Music Performer*, 13 (January 2004), 9–17, and *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), chapter 2.

4 Most French departemental and some municipal archive repositories have merely digitized their parish and registry office registers and made them freely available on their own websites for browsing and downloading. On the contrary, similar British archival sources which have been digitized have also been systematically indexed and are designed to be chiefly, if not solely accessed through a name search on fee-paying websites, which all allow searching names through indexes and downloading the digital images. The parish registers of the Church of Scotland (hereafter Old parish registers, abridged in OPR), held by the National records of Scotland (GB-Enr), as well as the registers of testaments held by the National archives of Scotland (GB-Enas), can be searched through the *ScotlandsPeople* website (<<http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>>), which also proposes an extensive documentation for understanding the contents of the records. However, browsing is possible only at heavy cost, as every displayed image must be paid for. The registers of the London parishes held by the London Metropolitan Archive (GB-Llma) and, more recently, those of the Westminster parishes held by Westminster Archive, are available respectively through the *Ancestry* (<<http://ancestry.co.uk>>) and *FindMyPast* (<www.findmypast.co.uk>) websites. Both have a monthly or yearly subscription and thus allow browsing without extra costs.

mid-1690s until his death in 1711, and for the other from 1713 to possibly 1724 in London, where he might have died in 1739.⁵

A French music master in Edinburgh and his family

As regards Edinburgh, parish registers enrich the scanty information hitherto available by revealing that a French music master, whose name is often badly mistreated under the pen of the parish clerks and gravediggers and who will be named hereafter Peter St Colum,⁶ and his wife Elizabeth Coltard –also spelt Coultard, Colthart, Cawher, Colter–⁷ had at least five children baptized or buried there from 1695 to 1702:

- an unnamed child, whose baptism record I have not found, buried on 23 December 1695:

23 [Desmber 1695]
Sintlomans a child North alow chambers tom [i.e. Chambers tomb].⁸

- Elizabeth, born on 6 December 1696, baptized four days later and buried on 3 July 1697:

6th of december 1696
Peter St Colum musick master & Elisabeth Coltard a d[au]ghter
n[ame]d Elisabeth. W[it]nesses John Falconer indweller sponsor
William Coultard indweller James Heddervail [?] Goldsmith
Baptised on Thursday 10th.⁹

3 [Jw]llay [July] 1697

Peter Sintcolom a frenchman a child North alow.¹⁰

5 The present article, based on research made from 2009 on, was first conceived in French, and had grown to very large proportions, as it was to include sections scrutinizing the hypotheses about Sainte-Colombe le père's identity. However, it was left unfinished and unpublished under its original form. Newly available online documentation and new discoveries allow me to publish it now. Another article will be devoted to Joseph Augustin Dandricourt, the Lyons Sainte-Colombe. Myrna Herzog's article, 'Looking through the Mist of *Tous les Matins du Monde* : Sainte-Colombe Revisited', *JVdGSA*, forthcoming, includes some information from an earlier version of the present one.

6 This particular form of the surname was selected for reasons explained below.

7 I have selected among the various attested forms of her surname the nearest to Coltart, the form preferred by G.F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: their Origin, Meaning and History* (New York, 1979). Black gives also the variants Colthard, Colthart, Coltherd, Colthert, Coulthard, Coulthart. The surname could stem either from 'colt-herd' or of the village named Coudehard (formerly Coudhard) in the Orne department in France. □I thank Paul Hambleton, National Library of Scotland, for providing this information (e-mail to the author, 29 January 2010).

8 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0127.

9 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0130 0074.

10 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0030.

- Patrick, born and baptized on 28 June 1698 and buried on 27 January 1700:

Tewsday 28 Juny 1698
 Peter St Collin musician & Bettie Cawher a s[on] n[amed] Patrick.
 W[itnesses] mr Patrick Richardson writer George Dalglish taylor
 John Falconer indweller sponsor.¹¹

27 Janaury [sic] 1700
 Piter Santcolam Mwthnor [i.e. musicianer] a child North alow.¹²

- Simon, born and baptized on 14 November 1700:

Edr 14 November 1700
 Peter St Colom Musician and Elizabeth Coultard his spouse A
 S[on] N[amed] Simon. W[itnesses] Mr Da^d Richardson wryter &
 George Dalglish Taylor burgess Mr Simon Frazer nephew to the
 deceast Laird of Brae Indweller.¹³

- John, born and baptized on 21 July 1702 and buried on 27 September of the same year:

Edr 21 July 1702
 Peter St Colme musick master & Elizabeth Colthart his spouse A
 S[on] N[amed] John W[itnesses] mr Simon Fraser Indweller and
 [] Lafour silk weaver in mr Linds manufactorie James Love
 soldier in the towns guards sponser in the parents absence.¹⁴

John Sinkcollem son to Pet. Sinkcollem musitioner aged 10 weeks
 dyed upon the 28th & buried th^t day lyes west end of the north
 ailley midle therof.¹⁵

Though St Colum's marriage record does not appear in the registers of any Scottish parish, one cannot exclude that it had taken place in Edinburgh, where the marriage register shows a gap between 13 July 1694 and 15 January 1696,¹⁶ unless the couple merely did not have their marriage registered. The first recorded child might well, like John, have lived but a few weeks, which makes it possible that his parents were married in the second semester of 1694 or even in the beginning of 1695.

All the baptism records carry in the margin the mention 'N.K.' for 'New Kirk', one of the churches of the Church of Scotland's Edinburgh parish.¹⁷ The

11 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0130 0179.

12 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0026.

13 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0140 0019.

14 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0140 0099.

15 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0850 0120.

16 *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595–1700*, ed. H. Paton, Scottish Record Society Publications, 27 (Edinburgh, 1905), IV.

17 *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595–1700*, *op. cit.*, IV, explains these initials as 'North Kirk', but it could more probably refer to the 'New Kirk', also named 'Little Kirk' or 'East Kirk'. This was in fact the eastern part of St Giles church, which had been divided in three parts in 1578 (J.C. Lees, *St Giles', Edinburgh : Church, College and Cathedral*, from

burials took place in Greyfriars cemetery. The Edinburgh burial registers usually do not mention the first name of the deceased children, and most of St Colum's children are no exception to the rule, but save for the first one their identity can be guessed without doubt because of their dates of birth. Simon remains the only one of St Colum's children of whom the decease is not documented. As not burial record can be found for him throughout the eighteenth century, he is likely to have died in infancy like his siblings.¹⁸

Their father was himself buried on 17 October 1711:

October 1711
Peter St Colums musick master buried the 17 north syde the piled
tree north aley Trf.¹⁹

On 29 October 1712, one year after his death, his 'relict' (widow) married the Edinburgh bookseller and burgess James Pringle:

5th October 1712
James Pringle bookseller burges in S:E: parock and Elizabeth
Colter relict of Peter St Colum Musitian also in S.E. parock [in
margin:] 29th October²⁰

The couple has two children baptized in the following years: Marion, born on 20 April 1714 and David, born on 22 July 1715.²¹

Elizabeth Coltard, who begot children between 1695 at the latest and 1715, can thus hardly have been born before 1665; it seems likely enough to fix her date of birth sometime between 1670 and 1675. Her first husband's birth took place probably between 1660 and about 1670. Indeed, as he seems to have left no traces in France, at least from the musical point of view, he probably emigrated while still young enough, but he is unlikely to have married immediately after arriving in Scotland. It seems likely that he had settled there some time before 1695.

St Colum's name does not appear in the roll of the Edinburgh burgesses, which indeed at this time includes few musicians, nor in the poll tax returns.²²

the Earliest Times to the Present Day (Edinburgh, 1889), 168). I thank Iain Ferguson of GB-Enr who suggested this identification after A.I. Dunlop, *The Kirks of Edinburgh: the Congregations, Churches and Ministers of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Church of Scotland 1560–1984*, Scottish Record Society Publications, 15–16 (Edinburgh, 1988) (e-mail to the author, 17 March 2010).

18 However, finding a record in the *ScotlandsPeople* website depends on the way in which names have been indexed, and if they have been indexed at all. Thus, the three earliest burial records mentioned above cannot be found in the database, even if one searches with wild-cards. They were located thanks to *Register of Interments in the Greyfriars Burying Ground, Edinburgh 1658–1700*, ed. H. Paton, Scottish Record Society Publications, 26 (Edinburgh, 1902), 569 and 594.

19 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0870 0097.

20 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0460 0134. The banns had been published on 5 October. National Library of Scotland, *Scottish Book Trade Index* <<http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index/>> (accessed 1st May 2017) gives no more information about James Pringle.

21 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/001 0160 0025 and 685/001 0160 0113. To judge from the surrounding records, 'Trf' stands for 'truff' (English 'turf').

St Colum and Edinburgh's musical life

Two sources already mentioned at the beginning of this article allow us to draw a more precise portrait of Peter St Colum as a musician.

He features as 'Mr Sinkholm' and 'Mr St Columb' among the performers in a concert supposed to have been given in Edinburgh on 22 November 1695, for St. Cecilia. The programme, signed by James Chrystie of Newhall (1675–1749), president (*preses*) of this concert, has been published with sometimes inaccurate comments by William Tytler (1711–1792), who had got it from Chrystie through a common friend.²³ The programme presents itself as a table, of which each line contains in the first cell the title of a work and in the five following cells the name of the performers in each group, with the name of the corresponding instrument as a headline.²⁴ The concert included works by Clerk (John Clerk of Penicuik or Jeremiah Clarke?), Giuseppe Torelli, John Barrett, Johann Christoph Pepusch, Gottfried Finger, Giovanni Battista Bassani and Arcangelo Corelli, played by an orchestra composed of twelve professional and nineteen amateur musicians, the latter –insofar as they can be identified with some certainty– recruited mainly among lawyers and members of the Parliament of Scotland. Known birthdates range from 1663 to 1682: Peter St Colum, who as told above can be supposed to have been in the 1660s, would thus be perfectly in keeping with this age bracket.

St Colum belonged to the group of basses, which consisted of bass violins and bass viols in unspecified proportions along with a harpsichord. The latter did not play in all the pieces. According to Tytler, James Chrystie of Newhall played the bass viol: it may thus be that he studied with the French violist. The latter and the member of Parliament [William] Seton of Pitmedden are the only performers whose first name is never given. However, each of the three occurrences of St Colum's name –from the fourth piece on, the detail of names is replaced for the bass group by either 'ut antea' (i.e. as before) or 'omnes' (all)– is preceded by 'Mr' (Master), probably used here as a mark of respect, and which is otherwise used here only in connection with the names of Robert Gordon and, occasionally, of John Middleton and Francis Toward.²⁵

Peter Holman was the first to challenge the date of 1695, judging from the repertoire played that the concert rather took place around 1710.²⁶ The

22 *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1406–1700*, ed. Ch. B. Boog Watson, Scottish Record Society Publications, 59 (Edinburgh, 1929). The poll tax returns (GB-Ea SL225) have not been consulted and are cited after the index available at <http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/downloads/file/1279/edinburgh_poll_tax_returns_1694-1699> (accessed 1st May 2017).

23 W. Tytler, 'On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the Last Century, with a Plan of a Grand Concert of Music on St Cecilia's Day, 1695', *Archæologia Scotica, or Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1 (1792), 499–510 (available at <<https://books.google.fr/books?id=-V5dAAAACAAJ>>, accessed 1st May 2017), see especially 506–508.

24 The programme of the concert is edited in the appendix to this article, with short biographical notices about the performers.

25 *Dictionary of the Scots language* <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>> (accessed 1st May 2017), article 'Maister, Master' from *Dictionary of the Older Scottish tongue (DOST)*, acception 21, b, defined as 'a polite title given to any gentleman or other man deserving of respect or deference'.

26 P. Holman, 'An Early Edinburgh Concert', *op. cit.*, 15.

birthdates of some performers reinforce this suspicion: thus, oboist and violinist William Carse would have been only 13 in 1695 and David Wemyss, Lord Elcho, only 17. The latter, whom Tytler names ‘Lord Elcho, afterwards Earl of Wemyss’, succeeded his mother as Earl of Wemyss on 11 March 1705,²⁷ which implies the year 1704 as *terminus ad quem*. On the other hand, Holman identifies the sonata for trumpet, oboe and strings by John Barrett played at this concert as the overture to Barrett’s incidental music for the comedy *Tunbridge Walks* by Thomas Baker (1680 or 1681–1749), premiered in London in January 1703.²⁸ The concert thus necessarily took place on 22 November 1703 or 1704. If the sonatas for four instruments and continuo by Pepusch are, as Holman thinks, those published in around 1717 or 1718 as op. 8, it implies that some of them were composed a long time before publication.

The other source presents our violist as a teacher. In January 1707, Lady Grisell Baillie notes in her account book the fees paid to her daughter Grisell’s (1692–1759) viol master:²⁹

For mounthes at the violl to Grisie with Sinckolum	12 0 0
For mending her violl	2 0 0

and again on 6 June:

For two mounth to Grisie with St. Culume on the vyoll, etc.	15 3 0
--	--------

These are the only references to viol in the whole account book.³⁰

The teachers whom George and Grisell Baillie entrusted with the musical instruction of their daughters mostly originated from the continent. In the selection of the household book edited by Robert Scott-Moncrieff, one notes the names of Henry Krumbein (d. 1720) –one of the performers in the St Cecilia concert, styled by Tytler as ‘the Orpheus in the music school of Edinburgh’– for music theory, spinet, recorder and thorough bass,³¹ the

27 See his biographical notice in the appendix. His eldest son David (1698–1715) succeeded him as Lord Elcho, but died before his father and thus never became Earl of Wemyss. His taking part to the concert is thus excluded.

28 About this play, see Th. Baker, *Tunbridge Walks: or, The Yeoman of Kent: a critical edition*, ed. R.W. Cooley <<http://drc.usask.ca/projects/walks/index.html>> (accessed 1st May 2017). The introduction to this edition does not mention the incidental music at all.

29 *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692–1733*, ed. R. Scott-Moncrieff, Scottish History Society Publications, New Series, 1 (Edinburgh, 1911), 14. These references were discovered by I. Woodfield, ‘The Younger Sainte-Colombe in Edinburgh’, *Chehys*, 14 (1985), 43–44. About Lady Grisell Baillie, see B.C. Murison, ‘Baillie, Lady Grisell (1665–1746)’, *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1061>> (accessed 13 March 2016). Fees are in Scottish pounds. For a survey of Grisie Baillie’s and her sister Rachel’s musical and choreographic instruction, see *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, XLVII–LI.

30 Information kindly provided by Anthony Hicks, after his unpublished complete transcription of the references to music in Lady Grisell Baillie’s household book (e-mail to the author, 14 March 2010).

31 From 1701 to 1710: *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, op. cit., 8, 10–13, 16, 21.

Silesian composer and copyist Jakob Kremberg (c1650–1715),³² and John Steall (Steill)³³ for singing, as well as of a dancing master billed only as ‘the Franch man’.³⁴ Later in London, the younger daughter Rachel would be taught dancing by the celebrated dancer and choreographer Mr Isaac.³⁵ St Colum must have enjoyed a high reputation, to judge by the amount of his fee –the equivalent of £1 sterling a month– the second highest among those of the music teachers employed by the Baillies.³⁶

In 1708, an account of the sums given by William Kerr, second marquess of Lothian, for whom Krumbein had tuned spinets in 1703, to his wife Lady Jean Campbell for her expenses mentions the payment of a viol master:

Item to the viol master for two months 2 giunes - 002 - 3 - 0³⁷

Though the latter is not named, one notes that his monthly fee of 1 guinea (that is here £1 1s 6d), now expressed in sterling because of the Act of Union, is very similar to that paid to St Colum by Grisell Baillie in the previous year. It cannot thus be excluded that the French violist had taught his instrument to the marchioness of Lothian.

32 In 1702: *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, *op. cit.*, 10, 11, 14. Kremberg was appointed a member of Queen Anne’s private music on 17 April 1706. The ‘James Kremberg, page to my lord commissioner’ who was naturalized by the Parliament of Scotland on 25 March 1707 may probably be identified with the James Kremberg, probably a son of Jakob, who had four children baptized in London from 1715 to 1722. See GB-Enas PA6/34, ‘Act for Naturalization of Several Forreigners’, 25 March 1707; transcription and translation in *Records of the Parliament of Scotland*, ed. K.M. Brown et al. <<http://www.rps.ac.uk/mss/1706/10/457>> (accessed 1st May 2017) and A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714* (Aldershot, 1998), ii. 655–657.

33 From 1707 to 1710: *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, *op. cit.*, 15, with first name, 25. Steill gave already in 1700 a concert in St Mary’s Chapel in Niddry’s Wynd. In the 1710s, he organized concerts at the same place with violinist Adam Craig and harpsichordist Henry Krumbein. After 1719, he ran the tavern Cross Keys, in High Street, where concerts took place: see D. Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1972), 33. In 1726, he was selling a collection of 12 sonatas and one Scots cantata on a poem by Allan Ramsay, the whole composed by Lorenzo Bocchi. In February 1729 took place ‘a sale by auction, of the hail [whole] pictures, prints, music-books, and musical instruments, belonging to Mr John Steill’: see D.F. Harris, *Saint Cecilia’s Hall in the Niddry Wynd: a Chapter in the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1899), 262–263.

34 In 1701 and 1702: *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, *op. cit.*, 7, 14.

35 In 1715 and 1717: *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, *op. cit.*, 32, 33, 35, 53. Isaac was accompanied by his violinist Mr La Fevre [Le Fèvre]. About Isaac, see J. Thorp, ‘Mr. Isaac, Dancing-Master’, *Dance Research*, 24/2 (Winter 2006), 117–137, especially 120–121 as regards the lessons to Rachel Baillie.

36 *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, *op. cit.*, 420. Only the harp lessons received in London cost more (£3 3s). As a comparison, the singing lessons are paid from 12s 4d to £1 a month, the recorder lessons from £1 10s and £2 1s 9d a quarter, the music theory and thorough bass lessons, £2 2s a quarter and the spinet lessons, from £1 9s 7d to £1 12s 3d a quarter.

37 ‘Accompt of Money Paid out by The Marchioness of Lothian Beginning March 17th 1708’ (GB-Enas GD40/8/370). I warmly thank Rob McKillop, who examined this document for me. About the marquess and marchioness of Lothian, see S. Handley, ‘Kerr, William, Second Marquess of Lothian’, *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15469>> (accessed 13 March 2016).

The programme of the St Cecilia concert shows St Colum featuring in vocal, chamber or orchestral works by three Italian composers, two Germans active in England and two native British, thus in a style very different from that in which he must have been trained in France.³⁸

A few Scottish viol manuscripts contemporary with St Colum have been preserved or are known through descriptions. They contain chiefly settings of Scottish popular songs and dances, or of fashionable tunes of various origins, a repertoire also found in most other Scottish instrumental sources from the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries which fit into the English lyra-viol tradition, with pieces in sundry tunings notated in tablature.³⁹ French viol music is represented only by the collections of works by Sainte-Colombe le père and Marin Marais, brought back from Paris before 1685 by the brothers James and Harie Maule, who also owned earlier manuscripts with ensemble music in three and four parts by English composers like John Jenkins and Christopher Simpson.⁴⁰ One can thus wonder which kind, (or kinds?) of music St Colum taught to Grisie Baillie.

Identity

Due to the want of an autograph signature, it cannot be known how our musician called himself. It may be that, when he settled in Edinburgh with little or even no prospect of ever seeing his native land, he took care to make his name pronounceable for his new fellow citizens, just as the wind instruments maker Pierre Jaillard made his career in England as Peter Bressan.⁴¹ It would not have necessarily prevented him from keeping his original French identity when writing in his native language or in his dealings with French-speaking people.⁴²

As his French surname is not attested, I have preferred to use one of the Scotticized forms of his name found in the sources. But only two of them spell it the same way, so that it is hard to decide which spelling to prefer –

38 In spite of the lack of information about his musical training, it seems likely that he came to Edinburgh as an already experienced musician.

39 GB-NTu Bell-White Ms. 46 contains both viol tablature and violin music in staff notation. It was copied by Andrew Adam, of Glasgow, and John McLauchland, of Edinburgh. Two other tablatures which became lost during the nineteenth century, including the original of GB-Du Mus. 10455, were possibly likewise in the hand of Andrew Adam, also found in a manuscript in staff notation dated from 1710 (GB-En Ms. 3296). Though apparently for violin, the contents of this manuscript were possibly played on the viol (cf. J.H. Robinson, 'John Leyden's Lyra Viol Manuscript in Newcastle University Library and George Farquhar Graham's Copy in the National Library of Scotland', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, vol. 2 (2008), 17–57; P. Holman, *Life after Death*, *op. cit.* (chapter 2). For a general survey of Scottish instrumental sources of the seventeenth century, see W. Edwards, 'The Musical Sources', *Defining Strains: the Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. James Porter (Bern, 2007), 47–71.

40 GB-En Ms. 9465, Ms. 9466, Ms. 9467 (Marais), Ms. 9468, Ms. 9469 (Sainte-Colombe). Cf. P. Cadell, 'French Music in the Collection of the Earls of Panmure', *Defining Strains*, *op. cit.*, 127–137 and E. Corp, 'The Acquisition of French and Italian Music in the Panmure Ccollection: the Role of David Nairne', *ibidem*, 139–153.

41 M. Byrne, 'Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan', *Galpin Society Journal*, 36 (1983), 5.

42 Thus Jacques Paisible, who made himself known in London as James Paisible, signs nevertheless with his French first name his testament in this language (GB-Lna PROB 10/1618); cf. *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485–1714*, *op. cit.*, ii. 865.

though most of them, in spite of their diversity, fall into the limits of the orthographical variants accounted for by the *Concise Scots Dictionary*. I have chosen ‘St Colum’ as the average spelling obtained through the following table, and besides the only one found in two records. Moreover, it reminds of St Columba of Iona (Colum Cille in Gaelic), the evangelizer of Scotland.⁴³

Letter or digraph									Source and spelling
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
S	[ai]	[n]	t	C	o	L	u	m	12/06/1696 and 10/05/1712: St Colum
								mb	W. Tytler: St Columb
								ms	10/17/1711: St Colums
					u			me	G. Baillie: St Culume
							o		11/14/1700: St Colom
	I	n					o		07/03/1697: Sintcolom
	A	n					a		01/27/1700: Santcolam
							-	me	07/21/1702: St Colme
						ll	i	n	06/28/1698: St Collin
	I	n	-	ck					G. Baillie: Sinckolum
	I	n		ck		ll	e		09/28/1702: Sinkcollem
	I	n	-	kh			-		W. Tytler: Sinkholm
	I	n		l		m	a	ns	12/23/1695: Sintlomans

As regards ‘St’, the *Dictionary of the Scots Language* has collected throughout the history of the Scots the main spellings **Sanct**, **Saint**, **Sainct**, **Sein(c)t** and the variants **sanctt**, **sancte**, **sant(e)**, **santt**, **scant(e)**, **(sanc)**; **sain(c)te**, **sayn(c)t(e)**, **seynt(e)**, **sent**, **sayn**. The latter, to be compared with the spellings ‘Sinckolum’ and ‘Sinkholm’, is likewise found before names with an initial consonant.⁴⁴ The variants [ai] / i / a (column 2), nt / n (columns 3–4), o / u (column 6), l / ll (column 7), m / mb (column 9), m / n (column 9) are all mentioned as possible by the *Concise Scots Dictionary*, which adds that in many words a final ‘e’ may be added (column 9). The renderings u / o / a / i / - for the vowel of the last syllable (column 8) may be compared to the variants of the –er ending (among which –ar, –or, –ir, –ur) and suggest a reduced vowel in an unstressed syllable.⁴⁵ The same dictionary includes the words **Columbe**,

43 Cf. M. Herbert, ‘Columba [St Columba, Colum Cille]’, *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6001>> (accessed 13 March 2016). St Colme is also the name of a former abbey in Fife, of which came the ephemeral Scottish peerage Stewart, Lord St Colme, created in 1611 and which passed to the Earl of Moray in the course of the seventeenth century. Cf. J.B. Paul, *The Scots Peerage* (Edinburgh, 1904–1914), vii. 394–395.

44 *Dictionary of the Scots Language* <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>>, article ‘Sanct’ from the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (DOST)* (accessed 1st May 2017).

45 *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, ed. M. Robinson (Aberdeen, 1985), XIX and XX. About the deformations of the name Sainte-Colombe, see also I. Woodfield, ‘Dudley Ryder 1715–

Columbie (with variants **Columbe**, **Columbin**) and **Columby** (with variants **Columbie**, **Columbyn**), which confirms the prevalence of the vowel ‘u’ in the spelling of the second syllable.

St Colum’s name would probably have been pronounced [sənt ‘kɒlɪm] by one of his Edinburgh contemporaries.⁴⁶ However, one of the spellings recorded by Tytler includes a ‘b’ at the end. As in this position it must have been mute in Scots as in English, it stands in all probability as a remainder of the French spelling.⁴⁷ Thus, Peter St Colum’s original name can be reconstructed with some likeliness as Pierre (de) Sainte-Colombe.

The witnesses on the baptism records

The witnesses who were present at the baptisms of St Colum’s children can give us some idea of his near circle. However, this research has its limits. First of all, most of these witnesses prove themselves difficult to identify beyond any doubt, as the gaps in the recording of events in the Scottish parish registers, the very uneven extent of information provided by the records and the existence of many namesakes do complicate the task a lot. Then, their precise relationship with the St Colum family never can be established with certainty, though two of them may be akin to Elizabeth Coultard. None of them belongs to the musical milieu, but it cannot be precluded that some would have studied with Peter St Colum. Among their trades are found two lawyers, a tailor, a weaver, a goldsmith and a soldier.

William Coultard, designated as an inhabitant [*indweller*] of Edinburgh, might well belong to Elizabeth’s family. A William Coltart, born on 27 January 1667, may be the same person.⁴⁸ His parents, Thomas Coltherd/Coltart, likewise an *indweller*, and Marion Dalglish, had been married on 16 October 1663.⁴⁹ The parish registers record the births of William’s elder daughters Helene, born on 23 October 1663, one week after her parent’s marriage, and Agnes, born on 23 July 1665,⁵⁰ but not of an Elizabeth.

The tailor George Dalglish, whose name appears twice, is moreover designated as a burgher in 1700, but does not appear in the roll of Edinburgh burgesses.⁵¹ I have not found his birth record. He might be related to Marion Dalglish, the mother of the William Coltart mentioned above, but the frequency of their surname inclines us to be very cautious in making such connections. George Dalglish married Jean Whyt, daughter of Michael Whyt,

1716: Extracts from the Diary of a Student Viol Player’, *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 21 (1984), 67.

46 Information kindly provided by Dr Christine Robinson, director of the Scottish language dictionaries (e-mail to the author, 20 July 2012).

47 On the contrary, Sainte-Colombe le père’s name is spelt ‘St Columbe’ and ‘Stt Collambe’ in a document written in Edinburgh in 1685, which suggests a pronunciation nearer to the French ([Harie Maule?], ‘Ane Catologue of Books Left at Edr Agustt 1685’, GB-Enas GD45/27/130, 1r and 1v).

48 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0060 0536.

49 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0440 0068.

50 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/001 0060 0331 and 685/001 0060 0429.

51 *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1406–1700*, *op. cit.*, 139. He appears in the poll tax returns for 1694. He lived then in the Tron sub-parish (GB-Ea SL225 238, not consulted).

of Auchtermuchty (Fife), on 7 April 1692.⁵² From this marriage were born four children: George (13 July 1694), Robert (12 May 1696), Beatrix Jean (30 September 1698) and David (26 May 1700).⁵³ Neither St Colum nor his wife appear under the witnesses. It is worth noting that a John Pringle, *lister* [dyer], witnessed the baptism of David, though his kinship with Elizabeth Coultard's second husband cannot be confirmed. Maybe George Dalgleish is to be identified with one of the eleven men of this name who were buried in Edinburgh between 1701 and 1728.⁵⁴

John Falconer, present at the baptisms of 1696 and 1698, might well be identified with John Falconer of Phesdo (1674–1764), who took part as a flute player to the St Cecilia concert mentioned above. The designation as an *indweller* does not contradict this identification, as Falconer of Phesdo was received as an advocate in 1700 only.⁵⁵ However, two John Falconers are found in the Poll tax records,⁵⁶ while twelve were buried in Edinburgh between 1704 and 1730, and five more in the surrounding parishes.⁵⁷

We move to firm ground with Simon Fraser, 'nephew to the deceast Laird of Brae'. He belonged to a Highland clan of which the chieftain bears the title of Lord Lovat. He was the great-grandson of another Simon Fraser, sixth Lord Fraser of Lovat (1570–1633), whose fourth child, James Fraser of Brae (1610–1649), had two sons. The elder, James Fraser of Brae (1639–1699), a renowned presbyterian preacher and theologian, was imprisoned under Charles II and Jacques II/VII, before being entrusted with the custody of the church buildings, records and plate under William and Mary.⁵⁸ The younger, David Fraser of Mayne, was the father of the present Simon.⁵⁹ Possibly is the latter to be recognized as this Simeon Frazer, *indweller* of Edinburgh, who married Margaret Lillie on 26 August 1690, but was already widowed on 29 May 1691.⁶⁰ Of his second marriage with Margaret Hodge, which took place at an unknown date, issued at least a daughter, Sophia, born on 9 July 1706.⁶¹

The Simon Fraser who is relevant here fought during the War of the Spanish Succession as a captain under Lord Mark Erskine. A prisoner of the French after the battle of Almanza (1707), he was rescued by his distant cousin Simon

52 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0440 0336.

53 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/001 0120 0167, 685/001 0130 0031, 685/001 0130 0197, 685/001 0140 0005.

54 Search conducted for years 1701 to 1740. Four of them seem to be children. Due to the uncertainty of the results, the complete records were not downloaded.

55 See his biographical notice in the appendix.

56 GB-Ea SL225 223 (New Kirk, 1694), 31 E and 158 (Old Kirk, 1694 and 1695); not consulted.

57 Search conducted for years 1698 to 1740. Five seem to be children. The complete records were not downloaded either. To this number must be added three more: John Falconer buried in Liberton from 1706 and 1723, and yet two more, probably children, buried in Leith South in 1723.

58 J. Callow, 'Fraser, James, of Brae', ODNB <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10106>> (accessed 13 March 2016).

59 J.B. Paul, *The Scots Peerage, op. cit.*, v. 529–532.

60 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/01 0440 0323 and 685/01 0820 0017.

61 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0140 0284.

Fraser, eleventh Lord Lovat (1668–1747),⁶² who accuses his kinsman of having sold him several times to his enemy John Murray, first duke of Atholl.⁶³ Fraser took part in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 and was wounded and taken at the battle of Preston (9–14 November), but was able to escape at the end of March and went over to France, leaving his family behind him.⁶⁴ On 22 April 1716, David Nairne⁶⁵ writes from Paris to the duke of Mar that ‘Last night came here Mr. Fraser, a half-pay officer, who was taken at Preston, but not discovered for some time, but at last was sent to London to have [under]gone the same fate with those that suffered. He’s a very pretty fellow, and being unknown to you has made me take the liberty of mentioning him’.⁶⁶ Fraser found himself in Sens on 7 May 1716, in Paris on 8 October and in Avignon on 6 February 1717; from 11 January 1717 on, he is designated as a major. He was still on the Continent in June 1718,⁶⁷ but later came back to Scotland. He dwelled in Canongate, where he died in December 1734.⁶⁸

Patrick and David Richardson, both *writers*,⁶⁹ were probably related. A David Richardson was born in Canongate on 22 August 1665 to Anthony Richardson and Susanna Loudian [i.e. Lothian],⁷⁰ while a Patrick Richardson, likewise a *writer*, married on 22 November 1722 Isobel Lennox, widow of William Wilkie,

62 J.B. Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, *op. cit.*, v. 530–531. Lord Atholl is John Murray, first duke of Atholl (1660–1724). About Simon Fraser, eleventh Lord Lovat, see E.M. Furgol, ‘Fraser, Simon, Eleventh Lord Lovat’, *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10122>> (accessed 13 March 2016).

63 *Memoirs of the Life of Simon Lord Lovat* (London, 1797), 105, dated 1699: ‘As soon as king William had signed this unlimited pardon [NB: following his being sentenced to death for high treason], Lord Lovat dispatched his cousin Simon, son of David Fraser of Brae [sic], express, in order to cause the Great Seal of Scotland to be affixed to it. But whether this cousin, who is an unnatural traitor, and a rascal worthy of the gallows, had at that time sold his chief for the money of Lord Athol, as he repeatedly did afterwards, or the timidity of Lord Seafield induced him to stop this pardon in its passage through the remaining forms; thus much is certain, that the pardon executed in Holland was suppressed’. These accusations do not lack piquancy under the pen of Lord Lovat, himself a notorious *agent double* who betrayed both Jacobites and Hanovrians.

64 Letter of Simon Fraser to John Paterson, Sens, 7 May 1716, published in *Calendar of the Stuart Papers Belonging to His Majesty the King, Preserved at Windsor Castle*, ed. Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1902–1923), ii. 138.

65 David Nairne (1655–1740) had settled in Paris in 1676. From 1689 on, he was employed as an undersecretary of State at the exiled Stuart court in Saint-Germain-en-Laye and then in Italy. But he was also a talented amateur violist, violinist and flute player. See the articles by E. Corp, ‘The Musical Manuscripts of ‘Copiste Z’: David Nairne, François Couperin, and the Stuart Court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye’, *Revue de Musicologie*, 84/1 (1998), 37–62, ‘Nairne, David [Jacobite Sir David Nairne, first baronet]’, *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46463>> (accessed 13 March 2016) and ‘The acquisition of the French and Italian music in the Panmure collection: the role of David Nairne’, *op. cit.*, 139–153.

66 *Calendar of the Stuart Papers Belonging to His Majesty the King, Preserved at Windsor Castle*, *op. cit.*, ii. 104.

67 *Calendar of the Stuart Papers Belonging to His Majesty the King, Preserved at Windsor Castle*, *op. cit.*, iii. 44, 425, 515; vi. 550.

68 Testament dative and inventory (as Simeon Frasser), 16 August 1735, GB-Enas CC8/8/97, 390–394. Canongate, then a self-standing parish, has since been absorbed into Edinburgh.

69 *Dictionary of the Scots Language* <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>> (accessed 1st May 2017), article ‘Writer’, translates this word as ‘a lawyer, notary, solicitor, attorney’.

70 GB-Enr OPR Canongate, image 685/003 0050 0019.

tanner and burghess.⁷¹ A John and a George Richardson with the same occupation are both mentioned in archival documents, the first one between 1671 and 1678, the second between 1712 and 1754.⁷²

It remains uncertain if one of both James Love buried in Liberton in 1713 and 1721 could be the soldier in the Town guard who sponsored the child baptized in 1702.⁷³

The first name of Lafour, 'silk weaver in Mr Linds manufactory' mentioned in 1702,⁷⁴ is not recorded. In spite of their different trades, he might be related with a Peter Lafour, son of the deceased Peter Lafour, late servant to the deceased Marquess of Tweeddale,⁷⁵ who was apprenticed on 3 August 1698 to the perriwigmaker John Cope and of whom a child was buried on 11 July 1725.⁷⁶ This surname appears nowhere else in the Scottish parish registers and could belong to a French Huguenot family; Huguenot emigrants had indeed established a silk manufactory in Edinburgh.⁷⁷

Last, the goldsmith James Heddenvaill must be the same person as 'James Hatenvel a frenchman poor' who was buried in Edinburgh on 13 May 1697.⁷⁸ His original French name may be reconstructed with some confidence as Jacques Hattenville. His trade was frequent among Huguenots.⁷⁹

71 *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1701–1750*, ed. H. Paton, Scottish Record Society Publications, 35 (Edinburgh, 1908), 454. William Wilkie was an apprentice in 1664. He acquired the right of burghess on 15 November 1676 and married successively Nicolas Peter on 5 December 1676 and, on 28 August 1698, Catherine Dewar, widow of the tailor John Burnett (*Roll of Edinburgh Burghesses and Guild-Brethren, 1406–1700*, *op. cit.*, 527; *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595–1700*, *op. cit.*, 739).

72 John Richardson: GB-Enas GD206/6/33 (1671–1678); George Richardson: GB-Enas CC8/6/162 (1712), B59/40/152 (1754).

73 Search conducted for years 1702 to 1740.

74 The merchant George Lind or Linn was received as burghess and guild-member on 22 June 1687 (*Roll of Edinburgh Burghesses and Guild-Brethren, 1406–1700*, *op. cit.*, 309) and married Christian Cockburn on 16 July 1690 (*The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595–1700*, *op. cit.*, 409).

75 John Hay (1626–1697), High chancellor of Scotland from 1692 to 1696, became the first marquess of Tweeddale in 1694: J.R. Young, 'Hay, John, First Marquess of Tweeddale', ODNB <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12726>> (accessed 13 March 2016).

76 *The Register of Edinburgh Apprentices 1666–1700*, ed. Ch.B. Boog Watson, Scottish Record Society Publications, 60 (Edinburgh, 1929), 54; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0880 0269. The first name is lacking in the burial record, but as a 'wigmaker' he can be securely identified with the former apprentice in the same trade.

77 S. Smiles, *The Huguenots: their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland*, 6th ed. (London, 1899), 277. About Huguenot weavers in England, see N. Rothstein, 'Huguenots in the English Silk Industry', *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800: Contributions to the Historical Conference of the Huguenot Society of London, 24-25 September 1985*, ed. I. Scouloudi (London, 1987), 125–140.

78 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/1 830 27.

79 A *nouveau converti* ('new convert', i.e. one who had abjured Protestantism) named Jean Hattenville, burghess of Dieppe, addressed on 25 September 1726 a supplication to the Count of Morville about the selling of his house (F-Pan TT//146, item 15). Hattenville is also the name of a village in the Seine-Maritime department. About Huguenot goldsmiths in Britain, see R. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: the History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Brighton, 2001), 91–93 and (for England only), H. Tait, 'London Huguenot Silver', *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800*, *op. cit.*, 89–112.

As to Peter St Colum, his name is not to be found as a witness in any of the parish records which I have been able to see.

A Sainte-Colombe in London?

Sources which mention a Sainte-Colombe in London between 1713 and 1716 have already been alluded to at the beginning of this article.

The *Daily Courant* of 11 May 1713 advertised as follows:

For the benefit of Mr. St. Colombe.
A consort of vocal and instrumental musick will be performed
on Thursday, being the 14th of May, at Mr. Hickford's dancing-
room over-against the tennis-court in James-Street, Hay-Market.
To begin exactly at 7 a clock. Tickets may be had at St. James's
coffee-house.⁸⁰

Though nothing is said about the occupation of this Sainte-Colombe, one can confidently assume him to have been a performer or composer (or both), as very few of the London benefit concerts were held for non-musicians.⁸¹

On 19 July and 18 October 1715 and 19 April 1716, the later judge Dudley Ryder, then still a student, had viol lessons with a 'Mr. Cynelum', whose name is generally considered as an anglicization of Sainte-Colombe.⁸² It may seem strange, though, that the [k] sound of the *Co*-syllable would have disappeared. Still more puzzlingly, the editor William Matthews (1905–1975) transcribed the name as 'Mr Cynely' for the first entry, thus still farther from Sainte-Colombe.⁸³

80 *Daily Courant*, 3611 (11 May 1713). I thank Monika Biesaga, Rare Books & Music reference team, British Library, to have sent me the full text of this advertisement (e-mail to the author, 12 May 2017). It is quoted in abbreviated form by M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and in the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), 85.

81 Among the 231 benefit concerts held from 1697 (listed by M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and in the Provinces (1660-1719)', *op. cit.*, 19–107, nine are held for the families of deceased musicians and three for non-musical causes: 'decay'd gentry, and the maintenance of a school for education of children in religion, musick and accompts' (19 February 1701), 'a lady under misfortune' (16 May 1715) and 'two hundred poor children' (proposal, 27 November 1717). Some of the other beneficiaries are explicitly stated as taking part to the concert, either as composers (17 cases), performers (48) or 'undertaker', i.e. theatre manager (1). For the remaining 153 concerts, the identifiable beneficiaries appear to belong to the world of music and theatre (they include actors like Richard Wilks and Thomas Doggett), most of them as performers, but it remains unclear if they always took part to the concert in question.

82 I. Woodfield, 'Dudley Ryder 1715-1716: Extracts from the Diary of a Student Viol Player', *op. cit.*, 64–68. During the last lesson, Ryder notes: 'I paid him a guinea [£1/1/-] for a month's lessons, which has been I believe a year in completing'; D. Lasocki, 'Dudley Rider, an Amateur Musician and Dancer in England (1715–16)', *The American Recorder*, 28, no. 1 (February 1987), 4–13, especially 4–5 as regards his viola da gamba lessons.

83 This transcript is held at Sandon Hall (Sandon, Staffordshire), Harrowby MSS, Vol. LXIX A. For the published version of the diary, see D. Ryder, *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715–1716*, ed. William Matthews (London, 1939). The original manuscript is likewise held at Sandon Hall, Harrowby MSS Vol. 426. I must express my warmest thanks to Michael Bosson, archivist at Sandon Hall, who kindly checked Matthews' transcript and informed me of both shelfmarks (e-mails to the author, 9 and 13 May 2017).

Let us not forget, however, that Ryder did *not* write ‘Cynely’ or ‘Cynelum’ precisely in plain letters, but in a shorthand system, probably Thomas Shelton’s tachygraphy, also used by Samuel Pepys or Isaac Newton among others. In the last chapter of his book, Shelton prescribed various ways for abbreviating a word, which could have contributed to disfigure the viol master’s name.⁸⁴ Besides, Ryder did not mean to publish his diary and thus had not to care for others to be able to recognize the name, as he himself knew his teacher’s identity, however it be spelt. It would thus be desirable to see the original notation in order to check if it presents any ambiguity and if Matthews’ transcription is the only possible one.⁸⁵

A third reference, unnoticed as yet, is found in a document of 1724, according to which the wind instrument maker Pierre Bressan had a bond to a Mr. St Colombe.⁸⁶

To sum up, there are two mentions of a Sainte-Colombe not explicitly designated as a musician but in a musical context (1713 and 1724) and between them one of a violist whose name might be a deformation of Sainte-Colombe. None of them can refer to Peter St Colum, who had been buried in October 1711.

This Sainte-Colombe has not left any trace in the registers of the French Protestant churches of London I have been able to consult nor in the letters of denization and naturalization.⁸⁷ In the baptism, marriage and burial records of the London and Westminster Church of England parishes, I have found only a tantalizing mention of a Peter St Colombe, who was buried on 26 September 1739 in St Botolph, Aldersgate.⁸⁸ Frustratingly for anyone familiar with the wealth of information provided by the French parish registers of the same period, those concerned here generally satisfy themselves with the bare mention of the names of the persons directly concerned –child and parents,

84 The first edition had been published in 1626 and the book had had multiple reissues. The nearest to Ryder was T. Shelton, *Tachygraphy. The Most Exact and Compendious Method of Short and Swift Writing, that Hath ever Been Published by Any* (London, 1710). About the various ways of abbreviating words, see chapter XV, 38–43.

85 After all, Matthew, who worked on Ryder’s diary in the late 1930s, could not have heard of Sainte-Colombe and thus would not have had any point of reference for transcribing the name if the original notation was ambiguous.

86 M. Byrne, ‘More on Bressan’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 37 (March 1984), 108: ‘To Mr St Colombe on bond with about a years interest £66’.

87 The following registers of the French churches of London which have been edited in the series *The Publications of the Huguenot Society of London. Quarto Series* (Lymington, 1887–) have been consulted: volumes 11 (church of La Patente at Spitalfields), 13, 16, 23 (Threadneedle Street church, ii–iv), 25 (churches of Le Carré and Berwick Street), 26 (churches of the Savoy, Spring Gardens and Les Grecs), 28 (churches of the Chapel Royal, St James, and Swallow street, London), 29 (churches of the Tabernacle, Glasshouse street, and Leicester Fields, London), 30 (church of Riders Court, London), 31 (church of Hungerford Market, London), 32 (churches of Le petit Charenton, West Street, Pearl Street and Crispin Street, London), 37 (church of St Martin Orgars), 39 (church of Saint Jean, Spitalfields), 42 (Artillery church), 45 (churches of Wheeler Street, Swanfields, Hoxton and La Patente de Soho), as well as the letters of naturalization and denization from 1603 to 1800 (volumes 18 and 27). The church registers record only baptisms and marriages, but no burials.

88 GB-Llma P69/BOT1/A/001/, MS03854 (St Botolph, Aldersgate, Baptisms, marriages and burials 1725-1761), f. 160v. The records contains nothing more than the name and the date of the burial.

bridegroom and bride, or deceased, according to the type of record— without any mention of occupation, age, or filial connection in marriage records, not to speak of godparents or witnesses. Thus a man born outside England —as Sainte Colombe le fils probably was— who would have remained unmarried — as he might have done— could indeed not be expected to have left any more trace as his burial record. But even if the absence of any other mention of his name can be logically explained, it remains impossible to ascertain if Peter St Colombe was the violist or not.

I met with no more success with other types of archival material available online: land tax records of London and poor rates records of Westminster.

In spite of his bearing the same first name as the Edinburgh Sainte-Colombe, one cannot entirely rule out the possibility that they were brothers or half-brothers, as two children in the same family were sometimes given the same first name even when the first one was still alive. For instance, there were in Jean-Philippe Rameau's circle two brothers named Sylvain Ballot, born twenty years apart, and of whom the elder was his notary and the younger one of his librettists.⁸⁹ Such a configuration —two brothers born a wide span of time apart of each other— could explain why no Sainte-Colombe does appear in the rolls of the Parisian head tax of 1695:⁹⁰ the father, who is still named as viol master in an address book for 1692, would have died in the mean time;⁹¹ we have seen that the Edinburgh Peter was already living there at this time; as to the London Sainte-Colombe, he could have been too young in 1695 to have begun a musical career.

One cannot exclude, either, that the Edinburgh and London Sainte-Colombes were not related. After all, two violists named Sainte-Colombe had lived in France in the preceding century, the one active in Lyon and Brioude from 1654 at the latest to his death in 1688, the other in Paris from the 1660s to the early 1690s.⁹²

A last possibility, more radically sceptical, would be to consider that the London references do not prove that a violist named Sainte-Colombe was ever active there: after all, none of those where the name St Colombe unquestionably appears mentions his occupation, and in the only source clearly concerning a violist the surname is so garbled that one cannot absolutely ascertain its original form. Therefore, the presence in London of a violist named Sainte-Colombe will be considered hereafter as hypothetical.

89 Sylvain Ballot 'l'aîné' (1683–after 1751), was an advocate in the Parliament of Paris in 1718 and then a notary from 1719 to 1750 (<https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/rechercheconsultation/consultation/producteur/consultationProducteur.action?formCallerNP=NOTAIRE&formCallerIR=¬ProdId=FRAN_NP_012757>,,accessed 28 February 2016). His brother Sylvain Ballot 'le cadet' (1703–1760), also known as Ballot de Sauvot, was received as an advocate in the Parliament in 1731, but is chiefly remembered as the librettist of Rameau's *Pygmalion* and (in part) *Platée* (<<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb14849751x>>, accessed 28 February 2016).

90 F-Pan Z/1h/657.

91 A. Du Pradel (pseudonym of N. de Blégny), *Le Livre Commode Contenant les Adresses de la Ville de Paris et le Trésor des Almanachs pour l'Année Bissextille 1692* (Paris, 1692; reprint Genève, 1973), 62.

92 See next chapter.

Further Sainte-Colombes are recorded in London at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On 29 June 1795, Nicholas Ste Colombe –so he signs his name– and Martha Giffard, both single, were married by license in St Gregory by St Paul, the parish where both had their residence.⁹³ I have not found any trace of their baptisms in any London parish. A Charles de St Colombe, aged 6, was buried on 12 June 1802 in Camden, St Pancras Old Church.⁹⁴ He could have been their son, but this will remain unconfirmed as the name of his parents is not mentioned and no baptism record has been found. Last, on 8 April 1826, William Young, a widower, married in St Anne, Limehouse the widowed Martha de St Colombe, from St Paul, Deptford, Kent.⁹⁵ The comparison of their signatures does not allow to ascertain if she was identical with the wife of Nicholas Ste Colombe. These ‘late’ Sainte-Colombes are not necessarily related with the violists. Nicholas could have recently emigrated from France because of the French Revolution.

In search for Sainte-Colombe le père’s identity: back to square one...

I never intended to put forth in the present article positive hypotheses concerning Sainte-Colombe le père’s identity. On the contrary, my research of the last years allows one to definitely discard both identifications proposed – sad news, in a sense, as no alternative hypothesis as to his full name has surfaced hitherto.

The first to have been unearthed in two independent articles, first in Lyons as ‘Augustin Dautre-court’, then in Brioude without a first name,⁹⁶ was Joseph Augustin Dandricourt, sieur de Sainte-Colombe, an ‘excellent viol player’ whose place and date of birth remain at the moment unknown to me, and who served various ecclesiastical institutions in Lyons from 1654 until at least 1669 and then in Brioude from 1682 at the latest to his death in 1688.⁹⁷ A further article will be devoted to his life. Let us just say here that from his first marriage with Anne Marie de Ferron (d. 1659) were born two children: a daughter, Magdeleine (1654–1716), and a son (b. 1659), presumably named Charles, who seems to have died young. His second marriage on 19 March 1662 with Marie Stoppa, who survived him, appears to have remained childless.⁹⁸

93 GB-Lghl P69/GRE/A/01/Ms 18937/3 (St Gregory by St Paul, Marriages 1781–1800), 87.

94 GB-Llma P90/PAN1 (Saint Pancras Parish Church, Burials July 1793–March 1810), [139].

95 GB-Llma P93/ANN (Saint Anne, Limehouse, Marriages), 94.

96 For Lyons, see Renaud Machart, ‘L’Envol de Sainte-Colombe’, *Le Monde* (18 January 1992), 1 and 13, recording Pierre Guillot’s research. Long before Sainte-Colombe’s works became again available to scholars and players, he had been mentioned by André Pirro, ‘Louis Marchand’, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 6, Heft 1 (November 1904), 137. His real name was mentioned for the first time by Jean-Marc Baffert, *Les Orgues de Lyon du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle*, Cahiers et Mémoires de L’Orgue, 11 (Paris, 1974), 51. For Brioude, see C. Astor, ‘Musique et Musiciens à Saint Julien au XVII^e siècle: un Sainte-Colombe à Brioude’, *Almanach de Brioude et de son Arrondissement*, 73 (1993), 89–110.

97 He was already music master in Brioude when his daughter Madeleine married the painter Antoine Benard (1654?–1734) in Mende.

98 In his marriage record, he called ‘Joseph Augustin d’Andricourt sieur de Ste Colombe maistre musicien et excellent joueur de viole’.

The candidacy of the ‘bourgeois de Paris’ Jean de Sainte-Colombe, backed by extensive archival research by Jonathan Dunford and Corinne Vaast, seemed promising, as he lived in the same quarter as Dubuisson and Marais.⁹⁹ Its only weakness in my opinion resided in the absence of any proof of life after 1669 for Jean, while the violist is known to have been still alive in 1692. And indeed, the hitherto unknown marriage contract signed on 26 August 1680 between Louis Le Bé and Brigide (or Brigitte), the younger daughter of the *late* Jean de Sainte-Colombe, definitely excludes his identification with the violist.¹⁰⁰

Therefore I no longer do preclude, as I formerly tended to do, that Sainte-Colombe be only a *nom de terre* (‘X, sieur de Sainte-Colombe’) or even a nickname (‘X, dit Sainte-Colombe’) and not his actual surname, though the difference between ‘sieur de’ and ‘dit’ may not be so clear-cut.¹⁰¹ After all, many people of the time, including commoners, were better known under their *nom de terre* only and could omit their surname when designating themselves.¹⁰² No claimant of this kind, however, has made himself known up to now, and searching for one into the Parisian notarial archives, without even the starting point of an address, would be looking for a needle in a haystack.

Moreover, as will be seen below, Sainte-Colombe may have had at least one natural son, which means that he was either unmarried or widowed when this son was born:¹⁰³ if he did not marry at all, there would be no marriage contract and probably no inventory after decease to find. If the child(ren)’s baptism(s) took place in Paris, the corresponding record(s) would have been destroyed in the burning of the Paris Town Hall on 24 May 1871. No main or secondary

99 J. Dunford, ‘The Sainte-Colombe Enigma: Current State of Research’, *op. cit.*; about the known facts and hypotheses about Sainte-Colombe’s biography, see also Sainte-Colombe, *Concerts à Deux Violles Escales du Sieur de Sainte-Colombe*, ed. P. Hooreman, revised by J. Dunford, C. Vaast and F.-P. Goy (Paris, 1998), vii–viii and xvii–xxiii.

100 F-Pan MC/ET/CXII/198, 26 August 1680, beginning ‘Furent presens Me Louis Lebé fils de deffunts Me Jean Lebé secretaire, et maistre à ecrire du Roy, et de damoiselle Anne Mary sa femme, demurant à Paris rue de la Jussienne parroisse Saint Eustache d’une part, Et damoiselle Brigitte de Sainte Colombe fille de deffunct sieur Jean de Sainte Colombe bourgeois de Paris, et de damoiselle Marie Pichille jadis sa femme, à present sa veuve, assistée de ladite damoiselle sa mere pour ce presente, demurans susdite rue de la Jussienne parroisse Saint Eustache, d’autre part’. I cannot claim much merit in discovering this document, as I found the reference of the contract in the notary’s repertoire of deeds (F-Pan MC/RE/CXII/2) in the genealogical site *Geneanet* <<http://www.geneanet.org>> (accessed 3 May 2017), which very easily led me to the original document.

101 For instance, the choreographer and mandore player ‘Jacques de Montmorency, sieur de Belleville’, as he is styled by the notary in his last will and testament, signs ‘Montmorency dit Belleville’ at the end of the same document (F-Pan MC/ET/II/37, 9 August 1631).

102 In a baptism record of 1662, Dandricourt’s second wife is called ‘damoiselle Marie Stoppa feme du sieur Joseph Augustin Ste Colombe’. He was himself recruited by the Hospital of La Charité as ‘Sieur Augustin Dandricourt dict Sainte Colombe’.

103 The Roman law and the Canon law distinguished four kinds of children born out of wedlock – the *naturales*, born of two unmarried parents, the *spuri*, of whom the father remained unknown, the *adulterini*, born of an adulterine union or fathered by a priest, and the *incestuos*, born of parents with a too close kinship – and considered the *naturales* less unfavourably as the others, as their parents were still liable to marry and legitimize their children. French jurists like Jean Bacquet tended to overlook this difference and to merge all four kinds into the word *bâtards*. See M. Gerber, *Bastards: Politics, Family, and Law in Early Modern France* (New York, 2012), 24–34. ‘Natural sons’ properly said could only have been born from parents who were not yet married, or who never married without being clerics, or from widowers.

entry for the name 'De Sainte-Colombe' is found in the Fichier Laborde, a selection of 66080 records from the Parisian parishes mentioning artists and craftsmen explicitly designated as such, made by Marquis Léon de Laborde between 1857 and 1869:¹⁰⁴ either he was recorded under another surname (if Sainte-Colombe was just a *nom de terre* or a nickname), or without mention of his profession and thus not selected or indexed by Laborde.¹⁰⁵

The British Sainte-Colombes and Henri Auger de Sainte-Colome

Corinne Vaast and Jonathan Dunford, putting forth the hypothesis that the Sainte-Colombes would have been Protestants, have pointed out the presence in London, at the same time as Sainte-Colombe le fils (if one admits the existence of the London Sainte-Colombe as a violist), of a Protestant minister from Béarn named Henri Auger de Sainte-Colome, and hinted to a possible kinship.¹⁰⁶

Born in 1680 in Nay near Pau, he was the son of baron Jacob de Sainte-Colome and his wife Marie de Landorthe and the grandson of Jean d'Augé, seigneur de Sainte-Colome. He left France at an unknown date after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. An *Exercitatio Theologica de Lege et Evangelio ad Elucidationem Loci Evangelii Johannis Cap. 1. Vers. 17* [...] *Sub Præsidio D. Henrici Philiponei de Hautecour, Respondente H. Auger de Ste. Colome* witnesses his study in theology at the Academy of Franeker, in Friesland.¹⁰⁷ In 1709, he came to England and became a minister at the Savoy and Artillery French churches in London. He was naturalized in 1710, and from the same year to his death in 1749, minister at the Threadneedle Street church, the oldest and foremost

104 Main entries (transcribed records in alphabetical order): F-Pnm NAF 12038–12198; secondary entries (other names which appear in the records as godparents or witnesses, with number of the cards concerned): F-Pnm NAF 12199–12215. The finding aid in the *BnF Archives et Manuscrits* catalogue <<http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc11638z>> (accessed 7 May 2017) provides direct links to the corresponding digital images in Gallica and allows to navigate easily from one volume to the other. About the history of the Fichier Laborde, see Yolande de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris 1535–1792: Actes d'État Civil d'après le Fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Vie Musicale en France sous les Rois Bourbons, 11 (Paris, 1965), 1–2. Brossard's edition mentions only musicians, without a full transcription of the records, and without the corresponding card numbers, which would have considerably facilitated the consultation of the original.

105 The secondary entries do not take into account the names for which no occupation as an artist or a craftman is mentioned in the records, even if they appear in the transcribed records. Thus the name of a musician who would have stood for godfather at the baptism of some other artist's child as 'bourgeois de Paris' or without any mention other than his name could be found only by reading the whole set of cards.

106 C. Vaast, 'Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe Protestant?', *Bulletin - Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 144 (1998), 598. See also J. Dunford, 'The Sainte-Colombe Enigma', *op. cit.*, 17. The Protestant hypothesis itself will be dealt with below.

107 Franeker, 1706. Copies in NL-Au O 01-627; NL-Uu F qu. 400 *XLIV* 8; NL-Lu DISFRA 1706:3; GB-Lbl 1012.d.7:1; GB-Ob Diss. R 134 (16); GB-DRc O.VIIA.34/12. Cf.

<i>Short</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>(STCN)</i>
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<<http://picarta.pica.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/SET=1/TTL=1/>> (accessed 1st May 2017). Vaast and Dunford point out the presence of this thesis in the same library as the sole source of Sainte-Colombe le fils' works: this will be discussed below.

French Protestant church of London. He was also, from 1718, one of the first directors of the French Hospital.¹⁰⁸

I have personally never been convinced by this hypothesis of a kinship between the violists and the family from Béarn, most of all because of the latter being consistently spelt without a 'b' in the more authorized sources as the pastoral registers, the letters of naturalization of Henri de Sainte-Colome or the academic exercise mentioned above. However, the confusion has occurred at the time too, probably because of the greater frequency of the toponym Sainte-Colombe.¹⁰⁹ One finds thus once the spelling Sainte-Colombe instead of Sainte-Colome in the registers of Threadneedle Street church,¹¹⁰ and its presence in a source cited by the Haag brothers in *La France Protestante* as 'a denunciation against Espalunque, baron of Arros, and Sainte-Colombe who, in 1700, "behaved themselves in a way most suspect to religion", *Arch. gén. Tr.* 248)'¹¹¹ was used as evidence of the violist being a Protestant.¹¹² This is in fact a quotation from a report by François Guyet, then intendant in Béarn, which can thus only refer to a person living in this province, just like the baron of Arros.¹¹³ The latter –Henry d'Espalunque, baron of Arros– had abjured Protestantism after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but had already been denounced in 1699 as never attending mass.¹¹⁴ Thus this Sainte-Colombe is obviously to be identified with the baron of Sainte-Colome or one of his relatives, possibly even the young Henri himself –then aged twenty– if he had not already left France. Likewise, the eighteenth-century genealogist Charles d'Hozier gathered under the heading 'Ste Colombe' items concerning both the Sainte-Colomes and various Sainte-Colombe noble families, though several of the nine first items are clearly signed 'de Ste Colome'.¹¹⁵

108 See A. Sarraillère, *Dictionnaire des Pasteurs Basques et Béarnais: XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Pau, 2001), 231.

109 There are no less than six boroughs named Sainte-Colombe in various regions of France (in the Doubs, Landes, Lot, Rhône, Seine-Maritime and Seine-et-Marne departments), but only one bears the name Sainte-Colome.

110 *Registers of the French church of Threadneedle Street, London. Vol. IV*, ed. T. C. Colyer-Fergusson, The Publications of the Huguenot Society of London. Quarto Series, 23 (Lymington, 1916), 50: it refers undoubtedly to Henri Auger de Sainte-Colome officiating at a baptism in 1718; elsewhere, he is always named 'M^r de Sainte Colome' or 'M^r Da. S^t Colomme' (*ibid.*, 48, 49, 53).

111 E. and É. Haag, *La France Protestante* (Paris, 1846–1859), iv. 556 (under 'Espalunque'): 'une dénonciation contre Espalunque, baron d'Arros, et Sainte-Colombe qui, en 1700, "tenaient une conduite fort suspecte à la religion" (*Arch. gén. Tr.* 248)'.

112 C. Vaast, 'Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe Protestant?', *op. cit.*, 597 (quoted in a shorter version after F-Pshp Ms. 892 I).

113 The original source of this text, never cited hitherto, is F-Pan TT//435 (the TT series has received new shelfmarks since the mid-nineteenth century), file 2, 'Extrait des Affaires de la R.P.R. [i.e. Religion prétendument réformée], dont il n'y a pas eu de Rapports à l'Assemblée, May 1700', 2r: 'M^r Guyet a écrit que les S^{rs} d'Espalunque et de S^{te} Colombe tenoient une conduite fort suspecte a la religion' [in margin:] 'Il luy a esté mandé d'employer les exhortations et si cette voye ne produit rien, de rendre compte de la punition qu'on peut leur imposer'.

114 *Armorial de Béarn, 1696-1701: Extrait du Recueil Officiel Dressé par Ordre de Louis XIV*, ed. Armand de Dufau de Maluquer and Jean de Jaurgain (Paris, 1889–1893), ii. 470–471. However, he received the last sacraments of the Catholic church before his death on 7 April 1726.

115 F-Pnm P.O. 4727, file 61403. This is one of 3061 volumes of archival documents collected by the eighteenth-century genealogist Charles d'Hozier. All the Sainte-Colomes referred to here lived in the sixteenth century.

The presence of Henri Auger de Sainte-Colome's *Exercitatio Theologica* in Durham Cathedral library, where is also held the manuscript containing Sainte-Colombe le fils' viol works, cannot either be considered as evidence for establishing a connection between the minister and the violist, as – here is the author's librarian-self speaking – not merely the present location of two documents, but also their previous history must be taken in account for doing this. In the present case, the viol manuscript belongs to the music library of canon Philip Falle (1656–1742), which he bequeathed to the chapter of Durham, while he gave his non-musical books in 1736 to the population of Jersey, in order that a library could be built there.¹¹⁶ On the contrary, the copy of Sainte-Colome's thesis is found in a series of bound volumes wherein are gathered about 2500 mostly German theological theses of uncertain provenance, and certainly did not enter the library's collections before the nineteenth century. Thus both documents made their way totally independently of each other into the Durham Cathedral Library.¹¹⁷

Besides, Margaret Urquhart dates the manuscript from the years 1703–1707, which would mean that it was compiled before Henri Auger de Sainte-Colome came to London; however, dating of manuscripts frequently may be challenged, so that this is not an absolutely compelling argument.

In spite of this unpromising context (in my opinion), I have confronted the Sainte-Colome hypothesis with the newly available biographical data.

Peter St Colum, whose French identity is not attested and whose name is almost always spelt without a final 'b', could thus theoretically have been called Sainte-Colome as well as Sainte-Colombe. However, it seems rather unlikely. On one hand, as explained above, Tytler –who can hardly be suspected of having been aware of the French Sainte-Colombe and thus to have related the Edinburgh violist to him– retains the final 'b' even if it was probably mute, an evidence that it was also present in the original name. Besides, none of the children of the various Sainte-Colome people baptized in Béarn in the 1660s and 1670s was called Pierre.¹¹⁸

As to the London Sainte-Colombe, if such a violist exists at all, his identification and any kinship with Henri Auger de Sainte-Colome seems likewise very unlikely. First, the documents of 1713 and 1724 undoubtedly bear 'St Colombe' and not 'St Colome'. On the other hand, it would seem a more natural course for the Catholic Bressan, who had settled in London more than

116 M. Urquhart, 'Prebendary Philip Falle (1656-1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A. 27', *Chelys*, 5 (1973–1974), 7–20 <<http://www.vdgs.org.uk/files/chelys/05chelys1973-4.pdf>>; W.E. Burns, 'Falle, Philip', *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9126>> (accessed 13 March 2016). The Jersey library was only founded in 1742, the year of the donor's death. The books from Falle's library are now in the Jersey Public Library.

117 Information kindly provided by Alastair Fraser, Cathedral Library, Durham, whom I thank for having examined this copy (e-mail to the author, 2 November 2010).

118 I thank Corinne Vaast, who had communicated to me a unpublished list of baptisms in Henri Auger de Sainte-Colome's family drawn up by François Giustiniani, and Philippe Chareyre, president of the Centre d'Études du Protestantisme Béarnais, who has searched in vain for the baptism of a Pierre de Sainte-Colome in the Protestant registers of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques department (e-mail to the author, 2 November 2009).

thirty years earlier, but had retained his French nationality, to have asked for a loan from one of the professional musicians of his circle, rather than from the reformed minister who had arrived twenty years after him and had soon been naturalized. Bressan had thus loaned money from the woodwind instrument player of French origin Peter La Tour.¹¹⁹

It is worth noting, though, that Bressan, who remained a ‘papist’ until his death, on one hand served from 1716 on as overseer of the poor in his Anglican parish of St Mary le Strand, where most of his children were baptized,¹²⁰ and on the other hand had relations among the Huguenot community. His sister-in-law Lilly Mignon, a Catholic like him, had married the Huguenot goldsmith Pierre (Peter) Simon,¹²¹ and one of his daughters, Francisca-Margarita Jaillard alias Bressan, was christened on 15 February 1708 in St Mary le Strand ‘by a minister of the French church’, whom one definitely cannot recognize as Sainte-Colome, as he did not become a minister before the following year and perhaps had not even yet arrived in England when this baptism took place.¹²²

Why did the younger Sainte-Colombe(s) come to Britain?

There can be no more than guesses and hypotheses about the reasons which drove both younger Sainte-Colombe(s) to cross the Channel to seek fortune northwards.

I have already mentioned the hypothesis according to which the Sainte-Colombes would have been Protestants. Most of the evidence provided concerned Jean de Sainte-Colombe,¹²³ whose identification with the violist has been definitively discarded above, which again leaves the possibility open.

119 M. Byrne, ‘More on Bressan’, *op. cit.*, 108–110. La Tour hailed from Albi and died in 1738 (*A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians*; ii. 701–705). A certain Francesco Salviati also lent money to Bressan: it is tempting to recognize him as the Francesco Salviati who made a cello dated 1697, which was sold in 1859 (*The Musical Times*, 9/202 (1st December 1859), 173). However, nothing proves that this instrument was made in England, and this luthier of this name is not mentioned by any of the specialized dictionaries which I have consulted: R. Vannes, *Dictionnaire Universel des Luthiers*, 8th ed. (Bruxelles, 2003); B.W. Harvey, *The Violin Family and its Makers in the British Isles* (Oxford, 1995).

120 M. Byrne, ‘Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan’, *op. cit.*, 9. About the situation of French Catholics in England, see also Jennifer Thorp, *op. cit.*, 124: ‘During the seventeenth century many Catholics in England conformed, so far as they could, to Anglicanism as the established religion within which government at all levels functioned. In London many musicians and dancing-masters, particularly aware of their reputation for being ‘French’ in cultural outlook, and in any case loyal to the Stuart royal family, took at least the oath of allegiance to the Crown if not the oath of supremacy recognising the monarch as the head of the Church in England, or paid the necessary fines when it became necessary to do so’. S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe 1603–1746* (Leiden, 2006), 91–93, similarly shows, regarding the Scottish diaspora on the Continent, that some conformed at least outwardly to the religious orthodoxy of their place of residence.

121 M. Byrne, ‘Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan’, *op. cit.*, 8. Their marriage, unknown to Byrne regarding the location and date, was celebrated on 19 June 1715 in St Margaret, Westminster. Their names are spelt ‘Peter Symon’ and ‘Lilly Wigwon’ in the parish register.

122 M. Byrne, ‘Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan’, *op. cit.*, 5–16, especially 8–9, 11 and 15.

123 Moreover, thanks to the increasing number of archival material digitized throughout France, I have been able to undertake further biographical research about the families concerned, the results of which make the Protestant theory rather unlikely as regards Jean de

In this context, one would immediately think of the Edict of Fontainebleau of 22 October 1685, by which Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes of 1598, thus making Protestantism illegal within the kingdom of France and driving many Huguenots into exile.

As regards Sainte-Colombe le père, though, this hypothesis has always seemed rather doubtful to me. Did not Jean Rousseau, Sainte-Colombe's student and eulogist, write and set to music after the Revocation an *Églogue à la Louange du Roy sur la Destruction de l'Hérésie*,¹²⁴ displaying in the libretto a virulence towards Protestantism which no doubt would have hurt his beloved master if the latter, who did not leave Paris after 1685, had belonged to the reformed confession?

As regards the son(s) I have not found any mention of a Sainte-Colombe in the literature about the Huguenot Refugees which I have consulted,¹²⁵ nor in

Sainte-Colombe. As the latter is different from the violist and probably unrelated with him, they will not be included in the present article. To give but two examples:

–Jean de Sainte-Colombe acted in 1665 as executor of the will of his friend Étienne Bourdet, who hailed from Bayonne and whose nephew, likewise named Étienne Bourdet, was supposed to have been a Protestant ship captain who fled France in the beginning of 1685. In fact, the nephew and the seaman had each children by different wives baptized at the same time, the former in the Catholic parish of Bayonne and the latter at the Protestant church of La Rochelle, which unmistakably shows that they are two different persons;

–Louis Le Bé, who married Brigide de Sainte-Colombe in 1680, was neither descended of the Protestant bookseller Henri, an ancestor of whom already lived in Paris in the late fifteenth century, nor of the crypto-Protestant founder Guillaume Le Bé, who settled in Paris around 1540, but of the master writer Pierre Le Bé, who left his native Bar-sur-Aube for Paris only in the late sixteenth century. Louis Le Bé's aunt Julienne was the mother of the painter Charles Le Brun, who at her death in 1668 designed her elaborate grave, which was produced by the sculptor Gaspard Collignon in a chapel of the Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet church in Paris. This kinship with Le Brun explains why Louis's sister Marie married the painter René Houasse.

The other argument invoked was drawn from the concert *Dallin*, the name of which was brought into relation with that of the printer-bookseller Jacques Dallin, who married in 1634 at the Protestant temple of Charenton. However, this title was not given by Sainte-Colombe himself, but by the compiler of the table of the manuscript, who dedicated the concert to a friend who entered the room where he was rehearsing the piece.

Moreover, Jean de Sainte-Colombe acted as procurator of the 'religieuses de Nogent', probably the Poor Clares of Nogent-l'Artaud (see A. Corlieu and Ch. Léguillette, *Histoire de Nogent-l'Artaud* (Château-Thierry, [1906]), 149–161) for settling an annuity to Jacques Esprit André, the full name of the French Academy member and moralist Jacques Esprit (1611–1678), also known as *l'abbé Esprit* (F-Pan MC/RE/LVI/1, 98r). Nuns would hardly have chosen a Calvinist to act in their behalf. Ironically, the French novelist Pascal Quignard, who portrayed Sainte-Colombe as a Jansenist in *Tous les Matins du Monde*, also wrote about the authentic Jansenist Jacques Esprit a *Traité sur Esprit*, which was published along with an edition of Esprit's *La Fausseté des Vertus Humaines* (Paris, 1996).

124 Jean Rousseau, *Églogue à la Louange du Roy sur la Destruction de l'Hérésie*, Composée par Jean Rousseau,... et par luy Mise en Musique (Paris, 1686). Only the libretto survives.

125 Beside the publications of the Huguenot Society mentioned above (fn 87), the following works have been consulted: Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland*, *op. cit.*; Fernand de Schlicker, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre* (Paris, 1892); *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800*, *op. cit.*; Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, Paris, 1991); Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: the History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain*, *op. cit.*; Laboratoire de recherches historiques Rhône-Alpes, *Base de Données du Refuge Huguenot* <<http://www.refuge-huguenot.fr>> (accessed 7 May 2017). This selection of resources is based

the onomastical indexes of the 'TT' series of the Archives nationales de France, nor in the account books of the 'Régie des biens des religionnaires' (stewardship of the Protestants' properties) for the *généralité* of Paris.¹²⁶ However, I have only searched for Sainte-Colombe as a surname, not as a *nom de terre*.

Besides, not only Protestants, but also Catholics of various trades settled in Britain and sometimes entered into partnership with Huguenots.¹²⁷ As regards musicians, many foreigners of various nationalities –Frenchmen, Italians, Germans– were active in England throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, either for a short period or for the remainder of their lives. Some of them entered royal service; others are known to have been invited by patrons, but for many the exact reasons of their coming to Britain remain unknown or conjectural.

It may be significant that the baptisms and burials in Peter St Colum's family took place in the Scots Kirk, while there had been a French Protestant church in Edinburgh since 1682: if he was not himself a Huguenot, perhaps it was more natural to have family ceremonies performed in the mainstream church, to which his wife probably belonged. One may object that, as the registers of the French church have been lost since 1786, one cannot be sure that his name did not appear therein,¹²⁸ and that he might have worshipped with the French community before his marriage.

All this is to say that religion may not have been for our violist(s) so compelling a reason for emigrating as it could appear at first sight.

Might not British visitors in Paris have at some years' distance, if not positively invited, at least suggested to or encouraged both Sainte-Colombes to settle in the Scottish or English capitals to make French viol music and playing directly available to the insular public? After all, there seems not to have been other French viol masters present in Britain at this time – but viol players may not have been so many then as a hundred or fifty years before. Let us consider, for instance, the brothers James Maule of Ballumbie (1658?–1723), later fourth Earl of Panmure, and Harie Maule of Kellie (1659–1734), of whom at least the elder, if not both, had lessons with Sainte-Colombe le père in Paris, and returning to Scotland, where they remained from 1685 to the failure of the Jacobite rebellion in 1716, had brought back several manuscripts of his and Marin Marais' music: it would probably be too simple an explanation to think that they could have become acquainted with their master's son during their

on the bibliography provided by the latter database, from which were selected the works about Great Britain, where the younger Sainte-Colombes settled.

126 F-Pan TT//14/B (consulted up to and including 1700; the following accounts are of the years 1715–1716). I have otherwise found mentioned only a 'demoiselle Sainte-Coulombe, religionnaire fugitive' whose house in Ruffec was seized on 17 August 1740 (F-Pan TT//388, file 54, 577).

127 In London, in 1669, four French weavers were involved in a lawsuit; among them were two members of the Threadneedle Street congregation, a Parisian who claimed to be a Protestant and a 'papist' from Tours: B. Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement c. 1550-1700*, *op. cit.*, 196–197.

128 A. Springall, 'A Huguenot Community in Scotland: the Weavers of Picardy', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 27/1 (1998), 97. R. Nash, 'The Huguenots in Scotland', *Journal of the Sidney Society for Scottish History*, 16 (September 2016), 117, 111.

stay in Paris and induced him to move to Edinburgh, but is it unlikely for all that? And if not the Maule brothers, could not other Scots have acted so, for instance their kinsman David Nairne (1655–1740), himself a viol player, who had lived in Paris since 1677?¹²⁹ And as regards the London Sainte-Colombe (if he exists at all), could not Philip Falle, thanks to whom Sainte-Colombe le fils works have come down to us, have played a similar role when he came to Paris in 1698?

Another possible, if equally hypothetical cause for their coming to Britain, is suggested by Toussaint Rémond de Saint-Mard (1682–1757), who reports in 1742 that

Un fils naturel de Sainte Colombe, homme simple, & qui n'avoit pas assez d'imagination pour mentir, me conta un jour que son pere ayant joué une Sarabande de sa façon à un homme qui étoit venu pour l'entendre, cet homme en fut tellement touché, qu'il tomba dans une foiblesse, dont on eut toutes les peines du monde à le faire revenir.¹³⁰

[A natural son of Sainte-Colombe, a simple man, and who had not enough imagination to lie, told me once that, his father having played a saraband of his own composition to a man who had come to hear him, this man was so much moved thereby, that he fell into a faintness, of which it was very difficult to make him recover.]

This anecdote, if we accept its authenticity, calls for several remarks. First, to write *a* natural son and not *the* natural son opens the possibility that there were several such sons. The one referred to could hardly be identified with Peter St Colum, who already lived in Edinburgh when Rémond de Saint-Mard was only thirteen-years old. An encounter with the London Sainte-Colombe appears possible, as Rémond de Saint-Mard's first book appeared in 1711, two years before the concert held in London for Sainte-Colombe's benefit. However, we do not know how long the latter had previously resided in the British capital, and one cannot either exclude that Rémond de Saint-Mard's informer was yet another person.

Then, this son obviously lived with his father as he witnessed the scene, and must have received at least some musical training in order to be able to speak of a sarabande. This is consistent with the fact that many parents supported their extramarital offspring. Nevertheless, French law showed itself unfavourable to illegitimate children, who were allowed to bear the name of their father if it was known, but not to inherit their parents' estate, while gifts exceeding basic support might be contested in court.¹³¹ Though bastards

129 About the Maule brothers and their music collection, see S. Handley, 'Maule, James, Fourth Earl of Panmure', *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18367>> (accessed 13 March 2016); H. Blair-Imrie, 'Maule, Harry, Styled Fifth Earl of Panmure', *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18366>> (accessed 13 March 2016); P. Cadell, 'French Music in the Collection of the Earls of Panmure', *op. cit.*; E. Corp, 'The Acquisition of the French and Italian Music in the Panmure Collection...', *op. cit.*; Jean (?) de Sainte-Colombe, *Recueil de Pièces pour Basse de Viole Seule (ca 1680): Manuscrits Panmure*, ed. François-Pierre Goy (Genève, 2003), 16–20.

130 T. Rémond de Saint-Mard, *Réflexions sur l'Opéra* (La Haye, 1741; reprint Genève, 1972), 60. About the author, cf. *Archives Biographiques Françaises*, I, fiche 882, images 200–205.

131 See M. Gerber, *Bastards: Politics, Family, and Law in Early Modern France*, *op. cit.*, in particular 24–34 and 60.

exercised a variety of professions and trades, illegitimacy often meant for them a fall in the social scale in comparison with their father. Moreover, on 22 July 1697 Louis XIV created a new tax about legitimized bastards and naturalized foreigners.¹³²

Of course, there may have been more than just one reason for the Sainte-Colombes to cross the Channel.

Who composed Sainte-Colombe le fils' viol music?

If one admits that two violists named Sainte-Colombe were active in Britain in the early eighteenth century, the question arises: which one composed the viol pieces?

As mentioned above, they are preserved in only one source, GB-DRc A. 27, compiled after 1701 by canon Philip Falle (1656–1742). The manuscript contains many works copied after prints by Marin Marais, Johan Schenck and others, as well as a lesser proportion of unpublished pieces, often known only thanks to this manuscript.¹³³ Jonathan Dunford points out that the works by Sainte-Colombe le fils – whom at the time of his writing he could not suspect to have been twofold – are the only ones to which performance marks have been added in red ink and suggests that Falle, since 1700 a canon of Durham cathedral, could have been his student in Edinburgh.¹³⁴ The hypothesis appears not to fit very well with Falle's biography, however, which incites us rather to look southwards.

Indeed, Falle, who had already spent some time in France in 1681, for improving his French in order to be able of preaching in the parish of Jersey where he had been appointed, took part in 1698 to the Duke of Portland's embassy at the French court and from the same year on was William III's chaplain during his yearly stays in the United Provinces. He took advantage of these travels to acquire music prints from which he copied selections in his manuscript collection. In 1699, he was appointed as rector of Shenley parish (Hertfordshire), about 30 km north of London, and in the following year became besides a canon of Durham, about 400 km north of Shenley, where he was not actually present before July 1703.¹³⁵ Margaret Urquhart thinks that he copied the manuscript between 1703 and 1707 (a period during which he regularly travelled from Durham to Shenley) in order to gather in one volume a selection of pieces otherwise found in various music editions and manuscripts.¹³⁶

132 M. Gerber, *Bastards: Politics, Family, and Law in Early Modern France*, *op. cit.*, 102–105, 193 and 98–100. The surname Sainte-Colombe does not appear in the surviving rolls of this tax (F-Pan E//3706/11 and E//3706/12).

133 M. Urquhart, 'Prebendary Philip Falle (1656-1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A. 27', *op. cit.*, 7–9 and 15–20 (complete inventory).

134 J. Dunford, 'The Sainte-Colombe Enigma', *op. cit.*, 16–17.

135 According to W.E. Burns, 'Falle, Philip', *op. cit.*, he was appointed in Shenley in 1709 only, but Urquhart's claim is substantiated by an archival reference which excludes this later date.

136 M. Urquhart, 'Prebendary Philip Falle (1656-1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A. 27', *op. cit.*, 11–14. While most music editions from which he selected pieces are now held at GB-DRc, none of the manuscripts from which he copied appears to have survived.

Moreover, the pieces are attributed in French to *Mr de Ste Colombe le Fils*, which fits better if the London Sainte-Colombe is meant, as he is referred to under his French name in other sources, while Peter St Colum seems to have pursued his career under a Scotticized identity. Besides, after the fall of James II, the Presbyterian Scots Kirk had become the Established Church in Scotland, and the Anglican Falle certainly would have had no reason to cross the Border because of ecclesiastical matters.

However, the Edinburgh man's authorship cannot be ruled out. After all, he seems to have been appreciated as a performer and a teacher, so why would he not have composed viol music too? In the light of the explanations above, it would imply that his music might have circulated southwards in manuscript, and for the performance marks not to have been added during lessons, but copied from Falle's source(s) as they stood therein.

One can therefore rather safely assert that Falle very unlikely *obtained* the music in Edinburgh, but much more probably in London. Due to the retrospective nature of its contents, one cannot exclude either that Sainte-Colombe le fils' pieces could have been collected during the six months Falle spent in France as a member of the 1698 embassy.

Some musical considerations

Whoever composed them, Sainte-Colombe le fils' pieces, such as they have come down to us, do not use the seventh string, though its addition was credited to the elder Sainte-Colombe. It suggests that they were composed in England, where violists still clung to the six-string instrument. But they might also have been *a posteriori* adapted to the earlier type of viol, either by transposing up an octave notes played on the seventh string or by merely omitting them when they belong to a chord. In the prelude in E minor, the first five notes of b. 43, which form the conclusion of a descending harmonic sequence based on a motive already found in some preludes by Sainte-Colombe le père (bb. 35–42), could well have been originally written on the seventh string, which would avoid a rather awkward seventh leap.¹³⁷



Example 1: MS version and hypothetical version for seven-string viol

In the allemande in G minor, a passage in double strings in the lower register reaches, at the cost of ninth leaps in the treble and seventh leaps in the bass, a chord which could have been simplified (bb. 15–16).

¹³⁷ GB-DRc A. 27, 124–125.



Example 2: MS version and hypothetical version for seven-string viol

Comparison between the printed versions of Marin Marais' works and their copies by Falle reveals that the English canon selected mostly those pieces in which the seventh string is not used. Otherwise, he generally adapts them as described above.¹³⁸ Thus one cannot preclude that he applied if necessary the same treatment to Sainte-Colombe le fils' pieces: he could thus even have collected them during his visit in Paris in 1698, as suggested above. But the composer, once he had settled in London, can equally well have adapted his own compositions to his new audience.

Even if there can be doubt as to the instrument for which he composed, Sainte-Colombe le fils undoubtedly distinguishes himself from his father by the choice of the keys he uses. Among the six keys in which he is known to have composed (G minor, A minor, F major, E minor, B minor, F minor), only the first is found in the elder Sainte-Colombe's works.¹³⁹ However, only the suite in F minor –as far as I know, a key not found in any other French viol work before Marais' fourth book of 1717– innovates in this domain, while all other keys in which the younger Sainte-Colombe composes had already been used by other violists, albeit rather seldom in comparison to other keys which Sainte-Colombe le fils ignores in his known *oeuvre*, like D major, G major, A major and, most of all, D minor.¹⁴⁰ B minor is even known only to Marais.

The marks for graces do not match those found in the sources of Sainte-Colombe le père's music, but those of Marais' first book. However, as none of the sources of either Sainte-Colombe is an autograph, one can wonder in which measure the choice of those marks stems from the composers themselves or from the copyists, be they of the sources themselves or of some possible intermediate source.

138 In Falle's copies of the following pieces, notes originally written on the seventh string are either octaviated (*) or omitted (**). In brackets: page number in GB-DRc A. 27, number of Marais' book (in roman numerals)/sequential number of the piece in the book: Double (7 = I/11), b. 23*; Allemande (10 = I/6), bb. 4–5*, 24**; Prelude (16–17 = I/1), b. 25*; Rondeau (20–21 = I/22), b. 80**; Prelude (42 = I/8), b. 9*; Fantaisie luthée (78 = II/30), b. 20*. On the contrary, the selections from the suite in F sharp minor featuring the seventh string –Prelude (203–204 = I/72), b. 8, Allemande (204–205 = I/73), b. 14, Menuet (206–207 = I/82), b. 8– have been copied without change. Either Falle had acquired a seven-string instrument in the meanwhile or he did the necessary changes while playing on his six-string viol.

139 F major occurs only in a dance included in one of Sainte-Colombe le père's concerts in D minor, but not in any self-standing piece.

140 See appendix II for a tabulated summary of the keys used in French solo viol music of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

At the compositional level, Sainte-Colombe le fils' works suggest that he benefitted from a more thorough training than his father.

Not to conclude...

In my opinion these new biographical elements about the Sainte-Colombes raise more new questions than they provide answers to the enigmas which surround this puzzling family, whose members, wherever they have lived, all seem to have rivalled each other in discretion and give the impression of having put into practice the Epicurean precept 'hide your life', at least as regards the private sphere. Though all of them had students, listened to concerts or played in them, the fact remains that William Tytler had nothing to say beyond his name about this Peter St Colum whom the Baillies, who appear to have carefully chosen renowned masters for their children, had entrusted with the care of teaching the viol to their daughter.

At the most, the existence of at least two sons or namesakes –though the existence of one of them as a violist can be challenged– and the lack of kinship with the minister Henri Auger de Sainte-Colome are now demonstrated, and the first name and date of burial of the Edinburgh Sainte-Colombe ascertained. As, moreover, all competitors to an identification as Sainte-Colombe le père have been dismissed, the title of Jonathan Dunford's article already referred to –'The Sainte-Colombe enigma'– stays thus more than ever relevant, and the names given in ancient Greece to the Pyrrhonian philosophers would perfectly apply to those researching the Sainte-Colombes' lives: 'Zetetics or seekers because they [are] ever seeking truth, Sceptics or inquirers because they [are] always seeking for a solution and never finding one, Ephectics or doubters because of the state of mind which follow[s] their inquiry, [that is], suspense of judgement, and finally Aporetics or those in perplexity.'¹⁴¹

141 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, book ix, section 70, after the translation by R.D. Hicks (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), ii. 483.

APPENDIX I

THE PROGRAMME OF THE ST CECILIA CONCERT AND ITS PERFORMERS

The following commented edition of the concert programme does not aim to reproduce the presentation of the original source. More than on the works themselves, which have already been largely identified by Peter Holman, insofar as it was possible from the meagre descriptions provided by the programme, it concentrates on the performers, providing for most of them short biographical notices.

The programme itself does not always provide the detailed list of performers for the pieces. In some pieces, the bass group is described only by generic Latin formulas. In Nos. 4 and 5, 'ut antea' seems to mean not that the bass group consisted of exactly the same performers than in the foregoing piece, but that only the string basses play, without the harpsichord, as in no. 3: indeed, James Christie of Newhall (B2) and John Middleton (B13) could hardly have played at the same time the 1st flute and bass parts in no. 4, and likewise Middleton alone in no. 5. This obviously contrasts with 'omnes' (Nos. 6, 8, 12–14), meaning that the harpsichord joins the stringed instruments to play the continuo part. In this case also, potential bass instrument players who play another part in a particular piece have not been included among the bass players.

For easier cross-reference between the programme and the biographies, both the works and the performers have been numbered. For the latter, the number is preceded with the letter A or B, according to whether they belong to the professional or to the amateur musicians.

In the biographical notices, the instruments played in the various works are indicated for each performer. The words 'treble' and 'violin' have been considered as synonyms. I have attempted to identify precisely the featured musicians, then to gather the information available about them in reference works such as the *British Biographical Archive*¹⁴² and the *ODNB*, and last to complete them with first-hand data provided by archival sources accessible to me: parish registers, testaments,¹⁴³ records of the Parliament of Scotland, catalogues of Scottish archival repositories.

142 British Biographical Archive, ed. Laureen Baillie (London, 1984–1989), abbreviated as BBA I; British Biographical Archive. Series 2 ed. David Bank (London, 1991–1994) abbreviated as BBA II; British biographical archives to 2002. Series 3, ed. Tommaso Nappo (München, 2003–2005), abbreviated as BBA III. All three series of microfiches, which together cumulate several hundreds of biographical reference works published between 1601 and 2002, have been integrated to the database World Biographical Information System (WBIS) Online (München, 200?), along with a number of similar biographical reference tools about other countries.

143 In the Scottish registers are found two different kinds of testaments. The *testament testamentar* corresponds to the ordinary testament known to other countries. But the more frequent type is the specifically Scottish *testament dative and inventory*, which the *Dictionary of the Scots Language* <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>> (accessed 1st May 2017), article 'Dative' from the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (DOST)* defines as 'a substitute for, or addition to, an

For a few names for which Tytler did not supply any clue allowing to distinguish between the various bearers of some very common names, it was not even possible to complete the first step. In other cases, I have proposed hypothetical identifications, based mainly on the trades represented among the amateurs and on the birthdates.

Parish registers and testaments have been used selectively, because the *ScotlandsPeople* website is fee-based. To avoid too important expenses, I have given priority to the records concerning the professional musicians, for whom the testaments and parish registers have been consulted. For the amateurs, I have as much as possible trusted the reference works. Archival sources have been used only to complete them; as regards the parish registers, I have generally not gone beyond the consultation of the lists of results, without downloading the complete records.

ordinary testament, prepared by an executor dative', that is, appointed by a magistrate (*commissary*) and not by the deceased person. It does not always include a detailed inventory of the *umquhile* [deceased]'s possessions.

No.	Title from the programme	Identification (Peter Holman) and remarks	Performers
	[Scena 1a]		
1	Clerk's overture	Either by John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755), or by Jeremiah Clarke (1674?–1707) (PH)	B18, B16, A3, A1, B9, B15, B19 (1st violin), B11, A11, A4, A2, B14 (2nd violin), B5, B6, B7, B17, B4, B10 (flutes), B1, A6 (oboe), B2, B8, A8, A7, A5, B13 (basses)
2	Torelli's sonata for 4 violins	Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709): unidentified work (PH); possibly the <i>Sonata in A for Violins in 3 Parts ... with a Violin Solo in A to be Continued Mostly with the Choicest Sonatas and Solos ... for the Year 1704</i> , RISM A/I T 994 (FPG)	B18, B16, A7 (1st violin), B11, A4, A3 (2nd violin), B1, A6, B15 (3d violin), A2, A11, B9 (4th violin), B2, B8, A8, A9 (basses)
3	Barrett's trumpet sonata	John Barrett, 1676?–1719): overture for <i>Tunbridge Wells</i> (1703) (PH)	B15, B9, A4, A2, A3, B12 (1st violin), B18, A11, B11, B16, A1, B1 (2d violin), A6 (oboe), A9 (trumpet), A12 (tenor), B2, B8, B13, A8, A7 (basses)
	Scena 2a		
4	Pepusch for 2 flutes and 2 violins	Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752): probably sonata op. 5, no. 8 (PH).	B18, B2, A11, B7, B13, B6 (1st flute), B15, B9, B11, A6 (2nd flute), B16, A4, A7 (1st violin), A2, A3, B1 (2nd violin), 'ut antea' [B8, A8, A7?] (basses)
5	Finger for 2 flutes and 2 haut.	Gottfried Finger (1660?–1730): probably one of the sonatas published in Amsterdam in 1698 (PH).	A5, B11, B18 (1st flute), B16, A11, B13 (2nd flute), A6 (1st oboe), B1 (2nd oboe), 'ut antea' [B2, B8, A8, A7?] (basses)
6	2 trumpets [i.e. 2 trumpet tunes]	Unidentified work for trumpet, oboe and four-part string ensemble (PH)	B16, B9, B11, A11, B12 (1st treble), A4, B18, A2, A1, B15 (2d treble), A6, B1 (oboe), A9 (trumpet), A12 (tenor), 'omnes' [B2, B8, A8, A7, A5, B13?] (basses)
7	Chorus	Unidentified	
	Scena 3a		
8	Pepusch, 2 violins, and 2 haut.	Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752): probably one of the concertos op. 8 (PH)	A4, B9 (1st violin), A11, A7 (2nd violin), A6 (1st oboe), B1 (2nd oboe), 'omnes' [B2, B8, A8, A5, B13?] (basses)
9	Bassani sonata	Giovanni Bassani (1650–1716): possibly a sonata from op. 5 (1690) (PH)	B16, A4 (1st violin), A11, B9 (2nd violin), A5 (harpsichord)

10	Songs and Mottetti of Bassani	Giovanni Bassani (1650–1716): PH suggests that the motets were taken from the new editions of opp. 8 and 13 published in London in around 1708 as <i>Harmonia Festiva</i> ; however, if the concert took place in 1703 or 1704, they must have been sung from earlier Italian editions.	‘schollars’, A10 [B16, A4 (1st violin), A11, B9 (2nd violin), A5 (harpsichord)?]
	Scena 4a		
11	Corelli’s sonata	Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713): probably one of the trio sonatas from opp. 1–4 (PH)	A11, B9 (1st violin), B16, A4 (2nd violin), B3 (harpsichord)
12	Finger’s trumpet sonata	Gottfried Finger (1660?–1730): unidentified sonata (PH)	B15, B18, A2, A3, A7 (1st violin), B16, A11, B11, B1, B19 (2nd violin), A6 (oboe), A9 (trumpet), A12 (tenor), ‘omnes’ [B2, B8, A8, A5, B13?] (basses)
13	Torelli’s sonata	Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709): unidentified trio sonata (PH)	B9 (1st treble), A4 (2nd treble), ‘omnes’ [B2, B8, A8, A7, A5, B13?] (basses)
	Scena ult[ima].		
14	Chacon	Possibly the chaconne in G major for solo violin and strings by Gottfried Finger (PH)	B9, A7, A6 (division), A9, A11, A2 (plain part), B18, B15 (3d part), A12 (tenor), ‘omnes’ [B2, B8, A8, A5, B13?] (basses)
15	Solo	Unidentified sonata for violin and continuo (PH)	A4
16	Solo	Unidentified sonata for recorder and continuo (PH)	B13
15	Grand chorus	Unidentified	

A. Professional musicians

A1. Brown, Thomas [Tho. Brown] (1st violin: 1; 2nd violin: 3): unidentified.¹⁴⁴

A2. Burn, Henry [Henry Burn] (1st violin: 3, 12, 14; 2nd violin: 1, 4, 6; 4th violin: 2) could be the son of Henry Burn, a merchant, and Agnes Willson, born in Edinburgh on 22 September 1672, but no evidence confirms this.¹⁴⁵

A3. Cooper, William [Will. Cooper] (solo violin: 15; 1st violin: 1, 3, 12; 2nd violin: 2, 4, 11, 13): unidentified.

A4. Craig, Adam [Adam Craig] (1st violin: 3, 4, 8, 9, 10?; 2nd violin: 1, 2, 6) is supposed to have been born in about 1667 (*BBA*); he could thus possibly be Adam Craig, son of Robert and of Janet Grinlaw, born on 19 August 1668 and christened of the 23 in Inveresk, Midlothian. The violinist married at an unknown date Ann Montier (or Muntier or Montire), daughter of the merchant David Montier, by whom he had at least three children: James, born on 7 April 1724, Helen, born on 28 May 1726 and Patrick, born on 7 June 1732. He was received as a burgess of Edinburgh on 9 June 1725 by right of his wife. He played the second violin in the Gentlemen's Concert of Edinburgh, and published in 1730 *A Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes Adapted for the Harpsichord or Spinnet and within the Compass of the Voice, Violin or German Flute* (RISM A/I C 4363). He died in Borrowmuirhead on 3 September 1741 and was buried in Edinburgh. His widow died on 3 February 1763.¹⁴⁶

Crumbden, Henry *see* **Krumbein, Heinrich**

A5. Krumbein, Heinrich (or **Hinrich**?)¹⁴⁷ [Henry Crumbden] (harpsichord: 1, 6?, 8?, 9, 10?, 12?, 13?, 14?; 1st recorder: 5), of Swedish or German origin, was received as a burgess on Edinburgh on 20 November 1700 'for services done in putting up the cheime of bells' in St Giles kirk. 'Crumbin' taught music theory, spinet, recorder and thorough bass to Grisie Baillie from 1701 to 1710. Occasionally, he tuned her spinet or supplied a book, probably a music book. Towards the same time, he was also employed by the Marquess of Lothian and the Earl of Seafeld. Tytler mentions more of his students for singing and harpsichord. 'Henry Crumbden' was naturalized on 27 March 1707 and died on 13 June 1720. His testament dative and inventory mentions 'a harpsecall, a spinet and three flutes', as well as many items from Sweden.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ A man of this name paid the poll tax in the New Kirk subparish in 1694, 1695 and 1698 (GB-Ea SL225 25, 21, 158).

¹⁴⁵ GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0070 0308.

¹⁴⁶ Tytler, 510; *BBA* I, fiche 277, images 276–279; GB-Enr OPR Inveresk, images 689/00 0030 0163 (baptism of Adam Craig), OPR Edinburgh, images 685/01 0170 0170, 685/01 0170 0283, 685/01 0190 0077 (baptisms of James, Helen and Patrick Craig), 685/01 0910 0183 (burial of Adam Craig); GB-Enas CC8/8/120, pp. 432–434 (testament dative and inventory); *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1701–1760*, ed. Ch. B. Boog Watson, Scottish Record Society Publications, 62 (Edinburgh, 1930), 45.

¹⁴⁷ His name is spelt 'Henrick Krumben' in a document of 7 July 1711 (GB-Enas CS166/35), which recalls Hinrich, the Swedish form of the name.

¹⁴⁸ Tytler, 509–510; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1406–1700 op. cit.*, 133, as 'Crumbden', without a first name; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0044 (burial); GB-Enas PA6/34 (naturalization, *cf. supra*) and CC8/8/87, p. 774–777 (testament dative and

A6. M^cGibbon, Malcolm [Mat. M^cGibbon] (oboe: 1, 3, 6; 1st oboe: 5, 8, 12; 2nd recorder: 4; 1st violin: 14; 3d violin: 2), whom Tytler mistakenly names Matthew, was received *gratis* as a burgess of Edinburgh on 4 December 1696, ‘in respect of his singular art of playing on the hoyboy and other instruments’. He married at an unknown date Mary Weir, who gave him at least six children: Mary (7 September 1701), Malcolm (22 October 1702), Isobel (29 March 1704), Elizabeth (18 May 1705), Daniel (27 July 1710), John (9 March 1713, baptized on the 14). Among the witnesses at the baptisms, one notes the names of the musicians John Morisone and John M^cLauchland (1701), James Peutherer and Daniel M^cKenzie (1704), as well as of Daniel Cameron, precentor of South West Kirk (1704, 1705). Malcolm M^cGibbon died on 30 December 1722 and was buried on 1st January 1723. His widow married again as soon as 1st October 1723 John Parkill or Parkhil, merchant in Edinburgh, and died in May 1734.¹⁴⁹ Tytler wrongly considered Malcolm M^cGibbon as the father of the violinist and composer William M^cGibbon, violinist of the Edinburgh Musical Society from 1726 to his death in 1756. William was in fact the second son of Duncan M^cGibbon and Sara Muir, married in Edinburgh on 19 December 1690. Three children issued from their marriage were christened in Glasgow: Daniel (4 February 1694), William (12 April 1696) and Elizabeth (16 March 1699). Sara Muir died in Glasgow on 23 June 1723.¹⁵⁰

A7. M^cLauchland, James [Ja. M^cClachlan] (1st violin: 2, 4, 12, 14; 2nd violin: 8; bass violin: 1, 3, 5?, 6?, 13?), ‘musicioner’, died on 24 September 1710.¹⁵¹ He was probably related to the violinist and composer John M^cLauchland, who married Margaret M^cKenzie on 14 April 1699 and died on 31 January 1702. John M^cLauchland’s testament dative and inventory mentions in particular ‘two violines... two violnes... a violen... ane bass violen... ane virginell... ane Musik book...’.¹⁵² John and James could be the sons of either Lauchland M^cLauchland and Margaret Jamisone, baptized in Dundee on 22 March 1654 (John) and

inventory, 22 August 1720); *The household book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692–1733*, *op. cit.*, 8, 10–13, 16, 21. In October 1703, ‘Crumbin’ was paid for having tuned the spinets of the Marquess of Lothian’s family (GB-Enas GD40/8/367, item 10). In 1710, ‘Hendrich Krumbein’ taught the spinet to Lady Janet Ogilvy (GB-Enas GD248/580/9 and GD248/574/8).

149 Tytler, 510; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1406–1700*, *op. cit.*, 673; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/01 0140 0057, 685/01 0140 0111, 685/01 0140 0176, 685/01 0140 0234, 685/01 0150 0103, 685/01 0150 0299 (baptisms), 685/01 0880 0194 (burial), 685/01 0460 0291 (second marriage of Mary Weir); GB-Enas CC8/8/89, 483–486 (testament dative and inventory of Malcolm M^cGibbon, 8 August 1724, with codicil of 17 February 1731) and 615–630 (testament dative and inventory of Malcolm M^cGibbon and Mary Weir, 18 November 1737).

150 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/01 0440 0326 (marriage), OPR Glasgow, images 644/01 0070 0184, 644/01 0070 0267, 644/01 0080 0012 (baptisms), 644/01 0460 0004 (burial of Sara Muir); about William M^cGibbon, see *BB4 I*, fiche 718, images 132 and 135–136; *BB4 III*, fiche 287, image 139; D. Johnson, ‘McGibbon, William’, *GMO* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17326>> (accessed 13 March 2016).

151 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0870 0060.

152 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/01 0450 0059 (marriage) and 685/01 0850 0026 (burial); GB-Enas CC8/8/81, 423–425 (testament dative and inventory, 30 July 1702); *The Balcarres Lute Book*, ed. M. Spring (Glasgow, 2010), vol. i, p. xxiii.

3 January 1658 (James)¹⁵³ or of Robert McLachlane, baptized in Perth on 6 September 1658 (John) and 12 August 1660 (James).¹⁵⁴

A8. St Colum, Peter [Mr Sinkholm, Mr St Columb] (bass viol: 1, 2, 3, 4?, 5?, 6?, 8?, 12?, 13?, 14?): see main article.

A9. Thomson, Daniel [Dan. Thomson] (trumpet: 3, 6, 12; 2nd violin: 14; bass viol or bass violin: 2) proves rather elusive as regards his biography, in spite of his notoriety. Tytler mentions his performance of the *obligato* trumpet parts in Henry Purcell's *Dioclesian* and *Bonduca*. 'Daniell Thomson, musician' was received as a honorary burgess of Aberdeen on 6 July 1704, but was described as a musician in Edinburgh when he was appointed as royal trumpeter in ordinary in 1706. His involvement in the jacobite rebellion of 1715 caused him to be dismissed from this charge in 1716. In the same year, a jacobite named Daniel Thomson was transported in Virginia, but his occupation is not indicated and he may thus not necessarily be the musician.¹⁵⁵ If Daniel Thomson, musician in Edinburgh, who married on 8 June 1725 Helen Glen, daughter of James Glen, pipemaker in Tranent, is indeed the trumpeter, it would be his second marriage. Their son Alexander, born on 9 March 1726, was christened two days later. This Daniel Thomson died on 3 November 1747.¹⁵⁶ The witnesses to his son's baptism were James Clark, 'choir master' and John Thomson, musician. The latter, probably related to Daniel, married on 27 February 1722 Margaret, daughter of the tailor James Anderson. They had at least four children: Janet (28 March 1723), Jean (6 December 1724, christened on the 8), Elizabeth (15 April 1726) and James (2 May 1727, christened on the 10). Among the witnesses to the baptisms, one notes the names of some musicians: Nicoll Fletcher (1723), James Clark and Daniel Thomson (1726), Thomas Robertson and David M^cKenzie (1727). John Thomson was received as a burgess of Edinburgh on 23 September 1730.¹⁵⁷ Another musician with the same name, husband of Ann Wight, died in Lauriston on 19 May 1781, aged 60, and was buried in Edinburgh two days later. His testament dative and inventory mentions 'a double bass and two small ones', 'two fiddles and an old spinet' and 'a few music books', but does not give any information about his ascendants.¹⁵⁸

A10. Thomson, William [Dan. Thomson's boy] (voice: 10). The birthdates of around 1677 (*BB4*) or 1684 (*GMO*) proposed for the birth of William Thomson, Daniel's son, must be discarded because of the date of the concert: designated as 'Dan. Thomson's boy' in the programme, his voice was thus likely

153 GB-Enr OPR Dundee, images 282/00 0010 0201 and 282/00 0010 0299.

154 GB-Enr OPR Perth, images 348/00 0010 0019 and 348/00 0010 0152.

155 Tytler, 510; A. Macdonald Munro, *Records of Old Aberdeen, MCLV/II-MDCCCXC* (Aberdeen, 1899), i, 280 (digitized at <<http://www.archive.org/stream/recordsofoldaber01aberuoft>>); A. McGrattan, 'The Solo Trumpet in Scotland, 1695–1800', *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historic Brass Symposium, Amberst, 1995*, ed. Stewart Carter (Stuyvesant (N.Y.), 1997), 83–84.

156 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/01 0460 0318 (marriage), 685/01 0170 0271 (baptism of Alexander Thomson), 685/01 0940 0021 (burial of Daniel Thomson).

157 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, 685/01 0460 0268 (marriage); Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1701–1760, op. cit., 202.

158 GB-Enas CC8/8/125, p. 1183–1187 (testament dative and inventory, 21 September 1781); GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0970 0255 (burial).

not yet to have broken, which implies a birth in the early 1690s. He settled in London in 1722, made himself known as a singer and published there the *Orpheus caledoniensis* (RISM A/I T 726–728), a collection of Scots songs. He died after 1753.¹⁵⁹

A11. Toward, Francis [Fra. Toward] (1st violin: 6, 11; 2nd violin: 1, 3, 8, 9, 10?, 12, 14; 4th violin: 2; 1st recorder: 4; 2nd recorder: 5) married at an unknown date Jean Weir, by whom he had at least five children: James (20 June 1691, christened on 21), Francis (1st January 1694, christened on 2), John (3 May 1698), Anna (4 May 1701) and Jean (26 September 1704, christened on 28). Among the witnesses at the baptisms, one notes the names of the musicians Richard Toward (1691, 1694) and ‘Hendry Crumben’ [Krumbein] (1698 and 1701). He assisted the latter in the tuning of the chimes of St Giles Kirk, of which he was appointed as carillonneur. On 13 September 1698, the Town Council, ‘to consider the care and pains taken by Francis Toward, musician, in fitting, tuning, and playing upon the chime of musicall bells, [did] therefore establish a salarie upon him of fyve hundred merks yeirly, for which he was to play upon the said chime of bells every day of the week except the Sabbath day, half ane hour before and half ane hour after twelve o'clock, and any other time the Magistrates should think fitt to appoint, and to take prentices for instructing them in the art of playing upon the said chime’, and rewarded him further by receiving him *gratis* as a burgess of Edinburgh by an act of 10 May 1699. After Jean Weir’s death on 28 September 1724, Toward married on 19 September 1725 Esther Chisholm, daughter of the late John Chisholm (1643?–1701), minister in Lilliesleaf from 1674 to 1689, who had been dismissed as a non-juror. Francis Toward died on 5 February 1726. His testament dative and inventory mentions ‘a chain of Mussick bells’. Esther Chisholm got married to Thomas Wilkie on 10 January 1731.¹⁶⁰

A12. Wilson, John [John Wilson] (viola): unidentified. A man of this name lived in the Tolbooth sub-parish from 1694 to 1698.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Tytler, 510; *BBA* I, fiche 1080, images 103–105; F. Kidson, D. Johnson, ‘Thomson, William’, *GMO* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27886>> (accessed 13 March 2016).

¹⁶⁰ GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/001 0140 0200 (birth of Jean Toward), 685/01 0890 0162 (burial of Jean Weir), 685/01 0460 0324 (marriage with Esther Chisholm), 685/01 0200 (burial of Francis Toward); GB-Enas CC8/8/90, p. 416–421 (testament dative and inventory, 2 April 1726); G. Hunter Mac Thomas Thoms, ‘The Bells of St Giles, Edinburgh, with a Notice of the Missing Bells of the Chapel of Holyroodhouse’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 18 (1883–1884), 100; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1406–1700*, *op. cit.*, 497. About John Chisholm, see *Scottish Episcopal Clergy 1689–2000*, ed. D.M. Bertie (Edinburgh, 2000), 24. He appears in the poll tax returns for 1694 and 1695. He lived then in the New Kirk sub-parish (GB-Ea SL225 200 and 198, not consulted).

¹⁶¹ GB-Ea SL225 19 A and 172 (not consulted).

B. Amateur musicians

B1. Carse, William [Will. Carse] (2nd violin: 3, 4, 12; 3d violin: 2; oboe: 1, 6; 2nd oboe: 5, 8), son of Sir Mark Carse of Cockpen and Isobel Nicolson, was born in Edinburgh on 12 October 1682. He was a collector of excise and died in Musselburgh in 1753, before 24 December. In 1710, he had married Jean Douglas (contract of 10 July), who survived him.¹⁶²

B2. Chrystie, James, of Newhall [James Christie of Newhall, Ja. Christie, Newhall] (bass viol: 1, 2, 3, 5?, 6?, 8?, 12?, 13?, 14?; 1st recorder: 4), son of James Chrystie and Jonet Foullis, was born in Edinburgh on 3 December 1675. He married Catharine Dick on 15 September 1698. Ten children born from this marriage were baptized in Yester, Haddington or Bolton (Haddingtonshire) between 1700 and 1719. On 17 June 1702, James Chrystie of Newhall was among the commissioners of supply appointed for Haddingtonshire until Whitsunday of 1704. He signed the programme of the Saint-Cecilia concert as *praeses* (president). He died in Baberton House, near Edinburgh, on 17 December 1749.¹⁶³

B3. Colvill, Robert, third Lord Colvill of Ochiltree [Lord Colville] (harpsichord: 11), was born in Ochiltree (Ayrshire), on 7 December 1665, as the eldest son of Robert, second Lord Colvill of Ochiltree (who died in Cleish on 12 February 1671) and Margaret Wemyss. His parents had been married on 19 August 1662. In 1684, the Privy Council withdraw the care for his education from his mother, who was rearing him in a presbyterianism hostile to the ruling power and was imprisoned in the Edinburgh Tolbooth. Lord Colvill sat for the first time in the Scottish Parliament on 27 May 1700, and later ranked among the opposants to the Union with England. He died without offspring on 25 March 1728. He was besides famed as a harpsichord and organ player and had collected a considerable collection of music, for a large part imported from Italy. According to Tytler, 'he was a thorough master of music, and understood

¹⁶² Tytler, 509; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0090 0160 (baptism); GB-Enas CC8/8/114, 1459–1464 (testament dative and inventory, 24 December 1753; the day and month of the decease are left in blank) and CC8/8/119 (testament dative and inventory of Lady Jean Dowglass, his widow, 15 November 1763).

¹⁶³ Tytler, 509; Ch. Rogers, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Scottish House of Christie* (London, 1878), 10–11; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/01 0080 0027 (birth), 685/01 0450 0050 (marriage), OPR Bolton, image 704/00 0010 0048 (baptism of Catharine, 6 December 1700), OPR Yester, images 725/00 0010 0203 (baptism of James, 22 August 1702), 725/00 0010 0211 (baptism of William, 10 August 1704), 725/00 0010 0217 (baptism of Archbald, 22 July 1706), 725/00 0010 0230 (baptism of Anne, 26 June 1708), 725/00 0010 0237 (baptism of John, 2 June 1710), 725/00 0010 0249 (baptism of Margaret, 14 January 1713), OPR Haddington, images 709/00 0030 0252 (baptism of Helen, 25 November 1714), 709/00 0030 0265 (baptism of Catharine, 8 October 1716), 709/00 0030 0283 (baptism of Janet, 25 May 1719); GB-Enas PA2/38, ff. 52r–56r (appointment as a commissioner of supply), transcribed and translated in University of St Andrews, *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, <<http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1704/7/69>> (accessed 26 April 2017).

counterpoint well', and Daniel Defoe, in a survey of Scotland's aristocratic families, writes that 'The God of Musick joins when COLVIL plays'.¹⁶⁴

B4. Corse, John [Jo. Corse] (recorder: 1), whose name is sometimes spelt Cross, began his career as a *writer* in Edinburgh. As 'John Corss of Whythouse', he married on 10 June 1686 Margaret Seaton (or Seton). On 24 March 1707, he returned to the Scottish Parliament the archives of the Privy Seal, which *writer* Andrew Martin had put into safety in 1650. In around 1712, he succeeded Walter Russell as archivist (*keeper of the records in the Laigh Parliament House*) in the service of the *Lord Clerk Register*. One of the first professionals to hold this position, he remained in office until his death in April 1746. He was buried on the following 1st May. Corse spent five years compiling an index to the about 22,000 deeds of the Great Seal, for which he did not receive any gratuity. His daughter Margaret, born at an unknown date, married merchant Charles Hope, then bailiff of Edinburgh, on 29 November 1711.¹⁶⁵

B5. Wemyss, David, Lord Elcho [Lord Elcho] (recorder: 1), son of Sir James Wemyss of Caskieberran, Lord Burntisland (16..–1682) and Margaret Wemyss, Countess of Wemyss and Cromartie (1659–1705), was baptized in Wemyss (Fife) on 29 April 1678. He wore the title of Lord Elcho until 11 March 1705, when he succeeded his mother as fourth Earl of Wemyss. He entered Parliament in the same year and was appointed as Great admiral of Scotland in 1706, then as Vice-admiral of Scotland after the Union with England. He died in Wemyss Castle on 15 March 1720.¹⁶⁶

B6. Erskine, Sir John, of Alva [Sir Jo. Erskine] (recorder: 1; 1st recorder: 4), third baronet, son of Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, first baronet, and Christian Dundas, was born in Tillicoultry (Clackmannanshire) on 11 June 1675. He married Catherine Sinclair on 26 August 1705. He was received as an advocate on 26 February 1700 and stood in the Scottish (from 1707 British) Parliament for Clackmannanshire (1700–1702 and 1713–1715) and Burntisland (1702–1708). He died on 12 March 1739 in the Isle of Man.¹⁶⁷

B7. Falconer, John, of Phesdoe [Jo. Falconer of Fesdo, Fesdo] (recorder: 1; 1st recorder: 4), eldest son of Sir James Falconer of Phesdoe and Elizabeth Trent, was born in Edinburgh on 21 October 1674. He was received and

¹⁶⁴ Tytler, 508; J.B. Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, *op. cit.* (hereafter abbreviated as *SP*), ii, 573–574; D. Defoe, *Caledonia*, (Edinburgh, 1706), 50; R. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland, from the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745* (Edinburgh, 1861), 434.

¹⁶⁵ Tytler, 509; The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595–1700, *op. cit.*, 146 and 617; The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1701–1750, *op. cit.*, 115 and 265; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0930 0191 (burial); University of St Andrews, Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, *op. cit.*, <<http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/A1706/10/58>>; A.L. Murray, 'The Lord Clerk Register', *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 53, no. 156, part 2 (October 1974), 146–148; GB-Enas CC8/8/111, 206–216 (testament dative and inventory, 18 March 1747).

¹⁶⁶ Tytler, 509; J. Sorensen, 'Wemyss, David, Fourth Earl of Wemyss [formerly Lord Elcho]', *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29035>> (accessed 13 March 2016); *SP*, viii, 506–508; about Margaret Wemyss, see *SP*, viii, 504–506.

¹⁶⁷ *BB4 II*, fiche 1462, images 100–101, with inaccurate birth date 1672; GB-Enr OPR Tillicoultry, image 468/00 0010 0034 (baptism), OPR Alva, image 470/00 0020 0024 (marriage).

advocate on 21 January 1700 and stood in Parliament for Kincardineshire from 1734 to 1741. He died in Leith on 21 November 1764, without offspring.¹⁶⁸

B8. Gordon, Robert [Mr Ro. Gordon] (bass viol or bass violin: 1, 2, 3, 4?, 5?, 6?, 8?, 12?, 13?, 14?) must probably be identified with ‘Mr Robert Gordon’, son of James Gordon of Seaton (buried on 2 November 1714) and Marjory Forbes, married in Aberdeen in 30 August 1670. He himself married Christian Sympson in Edinburgh on 6 October 1699. At least five children were born to them: Marjory (7 October 1700), Christian (1 October 1701), Barbara (4 February 1703), William (6 May 1704, baptized on 10 May) and James (3 May 1705). In 1704 and 1705, he is styled as a ‘*wryter in the Chancellery Chamber*’. He was related to John Middleton, another player in the same concert (*cf. infra*, B13), whose maternal grandfather was another James Gordon of Seaton. Middleton was one of the witnesses to the baptism of William Gordon, Robert’s fourth child.¹⁶⁹

B9. Gordon, William [Will. Gordon] (1st violin: 1, 3, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14; 2nd violin: 9, 10?; 4th violin: 2; 2nd recorder: 4): unidentified. There lived several men of this name in Edinburgh at the end of the seventeenth century. One of them, later known as William Gordon of Balcomie, was the second son of Sir William Gordon of Lesmoir. He was styled as a ‘*writter*’ on the christening of his son William, born on 6 February 1678 from his first marriage with Margaret Bonner. His second marriage with Elizabeth Wood took place on 8 August 1680 and he was received as an advocate on 28 January 1681. On 14 June 1703, he was sick when the Parliament ordered him to be released from prison. Another William Gordon, son of George Gordon of Sheelagreen, was likewise received as an advocate in 1683. But it is not known if one of them or yet another William Gordon played any instrument.¹⁷⁰

B10. Hamilton, Sir Alexander [Sir Al. Hamilton] (recorder: 1) could be Sir Alexander Hamilton of Haggs, 2^d baronet, whose father had been knighted in 1669. Alexander Hamilton of Haggs was received as a *writer to the Signet* on 15 July 1700. The title became extinct when he died in around 1710.¹⁷¹

168 Tytler, 509; *BBA* II, fiche 1467, images 425–426; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/001 0070 0478; GB-Enas CC8/8/120 (testament dative and inventory, 29 April 1765).

169 GB-Enr OPR Aberdeen, image 168/0A 0120 0527 (marriage of James Gordon of Seaton and Marjorie Forbes); A. Macdonald Munro, *Records of Old Aberdeen, MCCCCXCVIII–MCMIII* (Aberdeen, 1909), ii, 169 (digitized at <<http://www.archive.org/stream/recordsofoldaber02aberooft>>) (burial of James Gordon of Seaton); *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595–1700*, *op. cit.*, 273; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, images 685/01 0140 0013, 685/01 0140 0062, 685/01 0140 0125, 685/01 0140 0183 and 685/01 0140 0229 (baptisms). I have not been able to determine the exact degree of kinship between Robert Gordon and John Middleton. It seems possible that Middleton’s grandfather had married more than once and was also Robert Gordon’s father.

170 J.M. Bulloch, *The House of Gordon* (Aberdeen, 1907), ii, 84–91 (236–243); *BBA* II, fiche 1503, image 180; *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595–1700*, *op. cit.*, 273; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0080 0175 (baptism of William Gordon).

171 *A History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty’s Signet: with a List of the Members of the Society from 1594 to 1890 and an Abstract of the Minutes* (Edinburgh, 1890), 91 and 360; Scottish Archive Network, online catalogue <<http://www.scan.org.uk/catalogue>> (accessed 1st May 2017), person code NA17267. *The Dictionary of the Scots Language* <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>> (accessed 1st May 2017), article ‘Writer’, defines a writer to the Signet

B11. Hamilton, James [Ja. Hamilton] (1st violin: 6; 2nd violin: 1, 2, 3, 12; 1st recorder: 5; 2nd recorder: 4) might be James Hamilton of Olivestob, baptized in Edinburgh on 17 June 1675. He was wounded during the siege of Namur in 1695. Like James Chrystie of Newhall (**B2**), he was appointed as a commissioner of supply for Haddingtonshire. Having been received as an advocate 17 December 1703, he was appointed *sheriff* of Haddington in 1715. He married Margaret Chiesley on 5 March 1712 and died on 29 April 1757.¹⁷² But a baker [*baxter*] with the same name witnessed the baptism of John Toward, son of Francis (*cf. supra*, **A11**).

B12. Kennedy, Thomas [Tho. Kennedy] (1st violin: 3, 6) might be Thomas Kennedy of Dunure, eldest son of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill and Agnes Halden, who was born in Edinburgh on 4 October 1672. He was received as an advocate on 11 November 1696, then held the offices of Solicitor general (1709–1714), Lord advocate (1714) and Baron of the Exchequer (7 July 1721). He represented the burgh of Ayr in Parliament (1720–1721). He married Grizel Kynnymound on 19 August 1714 and died on 19 April 1754. His widow died before 28 March 1758.¹⁷³

B13. Middleton, John [Jo. Middleton, Mr Jo. Middleton] (bass viol or bass violin: 1, 3, 6?, 8?, 12?, 14?; solo recorder: 16; 1st recorder: 4; 2nd recorder: 5), born in Old Machar (Aberdeenshire) on 27 September 1678, was the sixth son of George Middleton (1645–1726), principal of King's College in Aberdeen from 1684 to 1717 and Janet Gordon (1652–1753). He began his career as a *writer* in Edinburgh, before entering the army where he reached the rank of brigadier-general in 1735. He stood for Aberdeen in Parliament from 1713 to his death, which took place in London, and was buried there on 24 March 1739 in St Martin-in-the-Fields. He played various instruments and sang.¹⁷⁴

B14. Nicolson, Sir Thomas [Sir Tho. Nicolson] (2nd violin: 1), elder son of Sir George Nicolson of Kemnay and Margaret Haliburton, was born in Edinburgh on 26 July 1666. He married Margaret Nicolson on 17 July 1688. He was received as an advocate on 12 November 1687 and knighted on 15 April 1700. He died on 31 August 1728.¹⁷⁵

B15. Pringle, Sir John, of Stichill [Sir Jo. Pringle] (1st violin: 1, 3, 12; 2nd violin: 6; 3d violin: 2, 14; 2nd recorder: 4), son of Robert Pringle of Stichill, first baronet, and Margaret Hope, was baptized in Stichill (Roxburghshire) on 2 July 1663. He married Magdalen Elliott in 1685 and

as 'a member of a society of law agents in Edinburgh, orig. clerks to the Secretary of State, who have the exclusive privilege of signing all signet writs and drawing up crown writs'.

172 *BB4* II, fiche 1523, image 355; GB-Enas PA2/38, ff. 52r–56r (appointment as a commissioner of supply).

173 GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0070 0310 (baptism); J. M. Rigg, A. McConnell, 'Kennedy, Thomas', *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15391>> (accessed 13 March 2016); *BB4* II, fiche 1592, image 4; GB-Enas CC8/8/117 (testament dative and inventory of Grizell Kinnimound, widow of Thomas Kennedy of Dunure).

174 Tytler, 509; SP, vi, 177–178; J. Foster, *Members of Parliament, Scotland: Including the Minor Barons, the Commissioners for the Shires, and the Commissionners for the Burghs, 1357–1882* (London, 2/1882), 250 (digitized at <<http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924030499002>>).

175 *BB4* II, fiche 1680, image 261; GB-Enr OPR Edinburgh, image 685/01 0060 0496 (baptism).

succeeded his father as second baronet of Stichill, probably in 1692. He died in April 1721.¹⁷⁶

B16. Pringle, Thomas [Tho. Pringle] (1st violin: 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10?; 2nd violin: 3, 11, 12; 2nd recorder: 5), a younger brother of Sir John Pringle of Stichill (B15), was baptized in Stichill on 24 March 1667. He was received as a *writer to the Signet* on 10 May 1693. Through his marriage with Rebecca Hay (2 June 1700), he is the ancestor of the Pringles of Edgefield and of the Pringles of Weens. He died before 4 December 1735.¹⁷⁷

B17. Russell, John, of Braidshaw [Jo. Russell] (recorder: 1), fourth son of James Russell of Kingseat and Margaret Lockhart, was baptized in West Linton, Peeblesshire, on 8 December 1672. He was received as a *writer to the Signet* on 16 November 1711. He married first Maria Anderson (29 August 1698), then Ursula Alexander (1706) and last Mary Anderson (1720). He died on 27 January 1759. According to Tytler, who had often heard him play, he had moreover a beautiful voice in his youth and was able to sing Italian airs with taste.¹⁷⁸

B18. Seton, William, of Pitmedden [Pitmedden, Seton of Pitmedden] (1st violin: 1, 2, 12; 2nd violin: 3, 6; 3d violin: 14; 1st recorder: 4, 5), son of the former judge Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden (1639?–1719), was baptized in Edinburgh on 6 March 1673. At the time of the St Cecilia concert, he had represented Aberdeenshire in the Scottish Parliament since 1702 and had already published some political writings. He supported with conviction the Union with England and stood in the British Parliament until 1708. He died in 1744.¹⁷⁹

B19. Stewart, John [John Stewart, Jo. Stewart] (1st violin: 1; 2nd violin: 12) might be John Stewart of Ascog, eldest son of Sir John Stewart of Ascog, who was received as an advocate on 11 January 1690.¹⁸⁰ But it seems likelier to identify him as another John Stewart, received as a *writer to the Signet* on 29 January 1705, who witnessed the baptisms of Malcolm and Isobel M^cGibbon, two of Malcolm M^cGibbon's children (*cf. supra*, A6). He married Janet Blackwood in April 1707 and died on 12 August 1731.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ Tytler, 509; *Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain. Volume 1, The Kingdom of Scotland*, ed. P.B. Dewar, 19th ed. (Buckingham, 2001), 1140, gives erroneously 2 July 1662 as his date of baptism: *cf.* GB-Enr OPR Stichill and Hume, image 808/00 0010 0082 (baptism); *Records of the Baron Court of Stichill: 1655–1807*, ed. G. Gunn, C.B. Gunn (Edinburgh, 1905), 224.

¹⁷⁷ Tytler, 509; *Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain. Volume 1, The Kingdom of Scotland*, loc. cit.; GB-Enr OPR Stichill and Hume, images 808/00 0010 0101 (baptism), OPR Haddington, 709/00 0060 0144 (marriage); *A History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet*, op. cit., 165; GB-Enas CC8/8/97 (testament dative and inventory, 4 December 1735).

¹⁷⁸ Tytler, 509; *A History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet*, op. cit., 176; GB-Enr OPR West Linton, image 773/00 0010 0034 (baptism); GB-Enas CC8/8/118 (testament dative and inventory, 13 February 1760).

¹⁷⁹ Tytler, 509; C. Kidd, 'Seton, Sir William, of Pitmedden', *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25127>> (accessed 13 March 2016).

¹⁸⁰ *BB4* II, fiche 1783, image 447.

¹⁸¹ *A History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet*, op. cit., 193.

APPENDIX II

KEYS IN FRENCH MUSIC FOR SOLO VIOL

The following two tables respectively summarize the use of the keys represented in Sainte-Colombe le fils' suites and of the other keys by the French violists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For each key, the total number of pieces is followed (in brackets) by the VdGS Thematic index numbers concerned. Conjectural attributions of anonymous pieces to Hotman and Dubuisson are not taken in account.

Composer	G minor	A minor	F major	E minor	B minor
Hotman	2 (35, 48)		4 (31–34)		
Dubuisson	11 (30, 38–40, 69–71, 101–104)	7 (11–15, 64, 85)	4 (65–68)	8 (26–29, 60–63)	
Demachy	7 (15–21)	7 (43–49)			
Sainte-Colombe le père	11 (6 pieces, 5 concerts)				
Marais (GB-En and GB-DRc MSS)	5 (158, 169; 3 concordances to book 1)	8 (173–180)	1 (195)	5 (167–169; 2 concordances to book 2)	
Marais (book 1)	10 (48–55, 83, 93)				1 (91)
Marais (book 2)				15 (96–110)	13 (83–95)
Marais (book 3)	16 (76–91)	14 (1–13)	14 (26–39)		
Morel		8			
Total	62	44	23	28	14

Table 1: keys used by Sainte-Colombe le fils

Composer	D minor	D major	G major	A major	C major	C minor	Other
Hotman	28 (1, 2, 7–16, 18, 23, 25, 26, 28–30, 36, 40–43, 45–47, 50)	4 (19–22)	5 (3–6, 17)				
Dubuisson	38 (1–5, 21, 22, 41–56, 81–89, 105–110, 116)	25 (6–10, 23–25, 36, 74–78, 90–94, 95–100)	6 (72, 79, 80, 113–115)	6 (16–20, 73)	5 (57–59, 111, 112)		
Demachy	15 (1–7, 29–35)	14 (8–14, 36–42)	7 (22–28)	7 (50–56)			
Sainte-Colombe le père	162 (122 pieces, 40 concerts)	15 (12 pieces, 3 concerts)	31 (26 pieces, 5 concerts)		27 (17 pieces, 10 concerts)	4 (4 concerts)	
Marais (Edinburgh MSS)	22 (151–156, 186–192; 8 concordances to book 1, 1 to book 2)	13 (157; 12 concordances to book 1)	12 (159, 161–164; 7 concordances to book 2)	9 (165, 166, 181; 6 concordances to book 1)	7 (170–172, 183–185; 1 concordance to book 3)	1 (182)	
Marais (book 1)	34 (1–27, 66–72)	20 (28–47)	11 (73–82, 92)	10 (56–65)			F sharp minor: 7 (84–90)
Marais (book 2)	41 (1–41)	23 (42–64)	8 (75–82)	18 (125–142)			E major: 14 (111–124)
Marais (book 3)	19 (40–58)		16 (92–107)	12 (14–25)	15 (108–122)	12 (123–134)	B flat major: 17 (59–75)
F-Pn Rés. 1183 ¹⁸²	10		8		8	8	

¹⁸² A manuscript with four anonymous suites for viol. They have been edited with a reconstructed continuo part: *Pièces de Viole d'un Auteur Français Anonyme du XVII^e Siècle*, ed. Shigenori Sennari (Strasbourg, [2008])

Composer	D minor	D major	G major	A major	C major	C minor	Other
Morel	7	9	10				
Total	376	123	114	62	62	25	

Table 2: keys not used by Sainte-Colombe le fils

Jean (-Baptiste) Cappus – the forgotten violist: an inventory of his life and works

Jonathan Dunford & Yvan Beuvar

Marin Marais, Forqueray and Sainte-Colombe have become part of the standard French repertoire for the solo viol. Although the name of Jean (Baptiste) Cappus often appears in books that cover this repertoire, not many viol players nowadays are familiar with his music or his life. Recently discovered archival material will help shed some light on this French viol master's life and works.

My intention in presenting this brief essay is to introduce this obscure violist and composer. In doing so I am presenting uniquely the starting point for researchers to further their study of Cappus' life and music. As a viol player I will provide a detailed analysis of the only known published bass viol music that we presently have and discuss some of the various technical points that are specific to this composer. In the Dijon archives I likewise have endeavoured to discover all I could about Cappus and his family.

This patient and meticulous research has unearthed hitherto unknown aspects of Cappus' genealogy and biographical data, which will be presented in detail.¹ As presented here, this is strictly biographical and leaves a large margin for further research concerning Cappus' education and musical activity, which at the present time we have not even begun. My co-author Yvan Beuvar will write about his known vocal works, and in Appendix "A" will describe the only cantata presently known by this composer.

Life and family

Jean (Baptiste) Cappus was born on the 6th of October 1689 and was baptized five days later in the Saint Etienne Church in Dijon.² Coincidence has it that this particular church and the Saint Médard Parish were the same as Jean-Philippe Rameau's, who had been baptized here 6 years earlier.³ In all the archival documents I have discovered his name is presented as 'Jean' and not 'Jean-Baptiste'. Jean uses the second name only on his 1730 book of viol music.⁴ In general he is just referred to as 'Mr Cappus' or 'Sr. Cappus'. I will refer to him as 'Jean' therefore throughout the rest of this article. As for his surname 'Cappus' the final 's' is most probably pronounced as indicated by the particular spelling of his name in the 1724 edition of the *Mercure de France*.⁵

¹ Research conducted at the Archives départementales de le Côte d'Or in Dijon

² F-Dad, FRAD021_239_5MIO9R032_0127 - 11 October 1689 This church is actually the Musée Rude which houses the municipal library.

³ F-Dad, FRAD021EC 239/028 – 25 September 1683.

⁴ Although the Royal Privilege in the same book refers to him only as 'Jean'.

⁵ *Mercure de France* – 1730 November, page 2528, 'Le 12. On chanta un Divertissement intitulé Les Plaisirs de l'Hyver, de la composition de M. Capuce, Maître de Musique de l'Académie de Dijon; qui fut fort applaudi. Cet Auteur vient de donner au Public un Livre de Pièces de Viole qui est fort goûté.

Jean was the youngest son of the family, having two older brothers and three sisters. His father François Cappus is named on his marriage act as a 'Maitre Chantre' (singing master) and the son of the legal counselor Maitre Blaise Cappus, Baillif for Parlement at Aix en Provence.⁶ François Cappus – was referred to shortly after his death as a 'good organist who had a healthy appetite, he died at a ripe old age'.⁷ He was also a singer at Dijon Cathedral, and was appointed to an official post starting in 1683 at least, to 'sing at all the important events'.⁸ A dozen of the father's vocal compositions have survived and we will discuss them later in this article.⁹

Jean Cappus' mother Anne Hervelin is reported as being deceased in 1692, when Jean was only three years old, and she was buried at the Saint-Etienne church on 12 March 1692.¹⁰ His father subsequently died 14 years later, in November 1716, and was buried in the same church.¹¹ On 17 October 1729, aged forty, Jean married a young woman who was a salesman's daughter from Paris, Marie-Michelle Dotée.¹²

Two sons were born from this union with Michelle Dotée. Louis was born on 20 May 1742¹³ and Nicolas, who is mentioned as being a minor in his marriage act on the 30 January 1753.¹⁴ On 12 March 1751 Jean Cappus was buried in the crypt of the Saint-Etienne church, having passed away two days earlier.¹⁵

In 1734, Jean Cappus received the privilege to direct the theatre in Dijon, the very first Opera house in the city.¹⁶ His son Nicolas exercised the profession of a salesman in the line of his maternal grandfather,¹⁷ and we find traces of this same family in Dijon as late as the 19th century¹⁸, where a Cappus is noted as creating artificial flowers as never seen before.¹⁹ The Cappus family is cited regularly as a 'contractor to make Indian chiffons as well as taffeta', and

⁶ F-Dad, FRAD021_239_5MI09R028_0368 - 13 December 1682.

⁷ 'musicien et marchand, a épousé la fille de François Dumas (...). Son père était musicien, son grand-père bon organiste et gros mangeur, mort vieux' this was transmitted to me by the musicologist Michel Cuvelier but remains to be confirmed, I include it just for the anecdote.

⁸ Il était chantre à la cathédrale, et appointé à ce titre depuis 1683 au moins, pour chanter 'à toutes les grandes fêtes', 'aux musiques extraordinaires' ou à 'tous les offices solennels' (sic) Archives de la Côte d'Or : G 1536, fabrique, comptes 1676-1699.

⁹ The airs published by Christophe Ballard in 1693 (RISM 1693-2), 1694 (RISM 1694-2 & 1694-3), and 1699 (RISM 1699-2), as well as the ballet "Henrici Julii Borboni primi é Regio Sanguine principis laudes" [BNF, Tolbiac, RES-YF2599] should be attributed to his father, François. RISM has erred by attributing to 'J.-B. Cappus' an identity given only as 'M. Cappus'.

¹⁰ F-Dad, FRAD021_239_5MI09R033_0347 - 12 March 1692.

¹¹ F-Dad, FRAD021_239_5MI09R045_0157 - 18 November 1716.

¹² F-Dad, FRAD021_239_5MI09R051_0340 - 17 October 1729.

¹³ F-Dad, FRAD021_239_5MI09R058_0149 - 20 May 1742.

¹⁴ F-Dad, FRAD021_239_5MI09R064_0329 - 30 January 1753.

¹⁵ F-Dad, FRAD021_239_5MI09R063_0469 - 12 March 1741.

¹⁶ Joëlle-Elmyre Doussot, *Musique et société à Dijon au siècle des Lumières*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1999.

¹⁷ He is mentioned as being a salesman in the act listed above - 30 January 1753.

¹⁸ Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettre de Dijon Années 1847-1848 – Dijon Frantin, 1848 – 139.

¹⁹ #18 – 'Fabrique de fleurs artificielles d'une rare perfection, par M. Cappus de Dijon'.

receives the rights to do so, renewed regularly.²⁰ The Cappus family was therefore a dynasty of well established musicians in the city of Dijon and contributed to its musical development throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

Jean Cappus published two books of *Pièces de Viole*, but only one is known to have survived. A 'Troisième suite de pieces de différents auteurs pour le dessus et le par-dessus de violle, mises en ordre par Mr. Cappus' is listed in a private collection which also has pieces by Marin Marais and Caix d'Hervelois, including 21 by Cappus, 5 from his first book of *Pièces de Viole*.²¹

His first book of *Pièces de Viole* was published in Paris in 1730. Traces of his well established reputation are documented on the title page. Here he is mentioned as 'Pensionnaire de la Ville de Dijon' (resident (artist) for the city of Dijon) and 'Maître Ordinaire de la Ville de Dijon' (Ordinary Master for the city of Dijon). His employment as musician for Louis-Henri, prince de Condé (dit Louis IV, ou M. le Duc), duc de Bourbon, governor of Burgundy (1710-1740) is also mentioned in his only other known theoretical publication *Etretnnes de Musique* that we will discuss later in this article.

Jean Cappus also composed vocal works, some of which were staged. In 1728, 'Le retour de Zephire, divertissement mis en musique...' was published in Dijon. Then, in 1729 his divertissement 'Les Plaisirs de l'Hiver' was presented in Versailles to the Queen. A solitary cantata *Sémélé* also exists, conserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.²² He worked regularly also as a composer for the Jesuit College in Dijon, where most probably he continued in his father's steps, and for whom he composed music for plays which we no longer possess; only the text has survived.²³

Two books of 'Airs Sérieux et à Boire' were published in 1732, by Boivin although no extant copy is presently known.²⁴

His son Nicolas, as we have seen held the same job as his grandfather – a salesman who was also a musician. In 1760 he published a book of arrangements for the treble viol of works by his father, and is mentioned as being housed at the place Royal Dijon.²⁵

Jean Cappus rented the Hôtel de Barres in Dijon in 1734, which nowadays is the square Carrelet de Loizy. Here he directed many productions up to the

²⁰ F-Dad, C 3233, C 3356, C 3364, C 5630.

²¹ Certainly published in 1742 or earlier by his son Nicolas, this manuscript is described in detail in 'le Bulletin de l'atelier' d'études du CMBV, n°9, 1999-2000", in an article by Michel Cuvelier.

²² *Sémélé ou la naissance de Bacchus. Cantate à voix seule avec symphonie* – F-Pn, D-6899 (7).

²³ 'La reconnaissance du Parnasse', 1740 ; Codrus, tragedy in latin, Le Joueur, comedy in French 1743 ; Louis IX, roi de France, captif en Egypte, 1746 ; texts at the F-Pnlr and at the F-Dm.

²⁴ Mentioned in the "Bibliothèque des auteurs de Bourgogne, par feu M. l'Abbé Papillon", published in 1745.

²⁵ *Pièces De musique - Misent en ordre par monsieur - Capus Musicien de L'académie de Dijon et premier musicien du Concert - Le prix est de [?] par Suite - et Se vend Chez le dit Sieur capus - Qui loge au Logis du roy place Royal a dijon -L'an 1760 à Dijon* – F-LYm, Ms. 6719.

time of his death.²⁶ A curious narrative of his conducting is given by Lantin Damerey in 1838 : ‘Rameau played the harpsichord, and Cappus directed the orchestra with such vanity equal to a general of the army at the head of his troops. His wife took over when it was needed’.²⁷

Works

Here we will provide a chronological catalogue of his works that are now known. Details of some will be discussed later in this article:

CAPPUS, including Jean-Baptiste (1689 - 1751)²⁸

- 1693** An air in XXXVI. ‘livre d'airs de différents auteurs à deux et trois parties’²⁹ Paris, Chr. Ballard, 1693. 1 vol. in 8°, 76 p. RISM Recueils imprimés XVIe – XVIIe S – 1693²
- (‘J.B. Cappus’ = error)
Printemps, gardez-vous bien [p.74] 1 singer and continuo
- 1694** (1) Six airs in le XXXVII. ‘livre d'airs de différents auteurs à deux et trois parties’³⁰ Paris, C. Ballard, 1694. 1 vol. in 8°, 77 p RISM 1694²
- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Vous estes insensible au tourment [p.43] | 1 singer and continuo |
| Je meurs (bis) tous les jours [p.46] | 1 singer and continuo |
| Quand, pressé par l'excès [p.48] | 1 singer and continuo |
| Amour, avant que ma constance [p.51] | 1 singer and continuo |
| Taisez-vous (bis) tendres mouvements [p.54] | 1 singer and continuo |
| Que ces vastes forests solitaires [p.56] | 1 singer and continuo |
- 1694** (2) Two airs in ‘XX. recueil de chansonnettes de différents auteurs à deux et trois parties’³¹ Paris, C. Ballard, 1694. RISM 1694³
- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Que l'amour est charmant [p.60] | for three voices |
| Quand le feu fait sentir [p. 64] | one singer with a
recitative for bass “air à boire” |
- 1699** Four airs, in ‘Recueil d'Airs sérieux et a boire de differents auteurs’, for the year 1699³²
Paris, Christophe Ballard, 1699. RISM 1699²
- | | |
|--|--------------|
| Vous cachez avec soin vos peines [93, p.189] | |
| Pour n'être point pilote téméraire [95, p.192] | |
| Reviens, affreux Hyver [108, p.210] | |
| Que l'amour est charmant et doux [124, p.240] | three voices |

²⁶ Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon, Imprimerie - Jobard 1923 – ‘La Première Salle de Spectacle de Dijon (1743-1828)’, 289–304.

²⁷ Rameau touchait le clavecin, et Cappus qui battait le mesure d'un air de vanité égale à celle d'un général de l'armée à la tête des ses troupes. Sa femme y doublait les rôles, lorsqu'il en était besoin. In “Les Deux Bourgognes” by Lantin Damerey, 54–62, Dijon, 1838.

²⁸ It is evident that the works dating from 1700 or earlier should be attributed to his father, François Cappus

²⁹ RISM 1693-2 F-Pn, Réserve, RES VM7-283 (28).

³⁰ RISM 1694-2 (‘J.B. Cappus’ error) F-Pn, Réserve, RES VM7-283 (29).

³¹ RISM 1694-3 1 vol. in 8°, 77 p. F-Pn, Réserve, RES VM7-302 (20).

³² RISM 1699-2 In-fol. obl., 244 [292] p. F-Pn, VM BOB-11592 et VM7-532.

s.d. Vous cachez avec soin vos peines, bergers...

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS RES 2355 'Pièces de musique et airs' (Houdard de la Motte, Antoine)³³

77 oblongs folios, 185 x 250 mm), second page numbered 34, only the melody, identical to the 'première du recueil' of 1699

1700 (1) Henrici Julii Borboni primi é Regio Sanguine principis laudes, Ballet en deux parties, mêlé de chant
(‘La Musique est de la composition du sieur Cappus. Le Sieur Hervelin fils a réglé les pas de danse’] (The music is by le Sieur Capus, Le Sieur Hervelin the younger is the choreographer)
Dijon, Collège de la Compagnie de Jésus, imprimeur-libraire : Jean Ressaye [1700]³⁴

1700 (2) Three airs ("Cappus"), in 'Recueil d'Airs sérieux et a boire de différents auteurs, pour l'année' 1700³⁵

Paris, Christophe Ballard, 1700	RISM 1700 ²
Que Bacchus est charmant ! [8, p.18]	air à boire
Voulez-vous savoir qui des deux [19, p.38]	air à boire
Le berger Tircis [p.178]	vaux-de-ville
In-fol. obl., 242 [292] p.	

1722 Le Temple de la gloire, cantata for the honor of the illustrious house of the Counts of Saulx, princes of Tavanès, which was sung at the Jesuit College in Dijon by the students of the same, in presence of M. Henri-Charles de Saulx, Count of Tavanès, lieutenant general for the King in Burgundy, Dijon, 1722. The accompanying booklet mentioned by Milsand has no named composer, but everything (place, institution and the dedicatee), leaves us to believe that Cappus is indeed the author.³⁶

1724-1746, Several works composed for the College of Dijon, whose booklets are mentioned by Milsand, and texts preserved at the BM Dijon, may well have Jean Cappus as a composer:

-*Le génie de la Bourgogne*, cantata, which will be sung in the College of Dijon (...) to honor and in the presence of the Lord Comte de Tavanès. Dijon, 1724.

Booklet mentioned by Milsand, op.cit. p. 499, without the name of the composer, kept at the BM Dijon.³⁷

-*Heroic idyll*, sung (...) May 6, 1730, in the presence of Mgr le Duc, governor of Burgundy, holding the states of the province.³⁸

³³ On line at: <https://archive.org/details/MS2355>.

³⁴ 16 p.F-Pnlr, RES-YF-2599 'en l'honneur d'Henry-Jules de Bourbon, 5ème prince de Condé, à l'occasion de la naissance de Charles, comte de Charolais, fils de Louis III, 6ème prince de Condé' (in honor of Henry Jules de Bourbon, 5th Princ of Condé, at the occasion of the birth of Charles, son of Louis II, the 6th price of Condé). (source: BNF) Capus is cited as the composer, and 'Petrus Capus' as an actor (source: BM of Dijon, shelfmark 51689. This 'Petrus Capus' is unknown from our genealogical research.

³⁵ F-Pnt, VM7-533.

³⁶ F-Dm L51767.

³⁷ F-Dm, 3 copies: S1769, Virely 729 (II), Breuil III-36..

³⁸ F-Dm, L11399.

-*Récits mêlés de musique* (...), the 1st of May 1733, in the presence of Mgr le Duc, governor of Burgundy, holding the states of the province.³⁹

-*Récits mêlés de musique* (...), the 1st of May 1736, in the presence of Mgr le Duc, governor of Burgundy, holding the states of the province, Dijon, Augé, 1736.⁴⁰

-*Idyl*, part of which will be declaimed and the other sung (...) the 1st of May 1739 in the presence of Mgr le Duc, holding the states of the province, Dijon, Augé.⁴¹

-*Heroic idyll*, part of which will be declaimed, the other sung (...) June 13, 1742, in front of the Duke of Saint-Aignan, governor and lieutenant-general for S.M. of the provinces of Burgundy, Bresse and Bugey. Dijon, Augé, 1742.⁴²

1728 Le retour de Zéphire, divertissement mis en musique...chanté pour la première fois le 7 mars.⁴³

1729 Te Deum [pour la naissance du Dauphin]
Lost score, whose record of its performance is the only trace discovered.⁴⁴

1730 (1) Etrennes de musique contenant une méthode courte et facile pour apprendre cet art en très peu de temps.⁴⁵

1730 (2) *Premier livre de pièces de viole et la basse continue*.⁴⁶

1730 (3) *Les Plaisirs de l'hiver*. Divertissement en un acte, représenté devant la reine, au château de Versailles, le 13 novembre.⁴⁷

Dijon, J. Sirot, s.d. [in 8°, 8 p.]⁴⁸ [only the booklet is conserved]

1732 (1) *Premier recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire* (lost)⁴⁹

1732 (2) *Second recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire* (lost)⁵⁰

1732 (3) *Sémélé, ou La Naissance de Bacchus*. Cantate à voix seule avec symphonie.

Prélude et 9 pieces Paris, Boivin, Le Clerc, Cappus, 1732.⁵¹

1733 *Second livre de pièces de viole* (lost)⁵²

³⁹ F-Dm, L51771.

⁴⁰ F-Dm, 2 copies: 51772, Virely 727 (II)..

⁴¹ F-Dm, L11399..

⁴² F-Dm, L11399..

⁴³ D. Herlin (Dict. Marcelle Benoit) - Dijon, imp. De A. de Fay, 1728 [in 4°, Pièce] F-Pn, RES-YF-2394, et F-Pn, THN-99 [text only].

⁴⁴ D. Herlin (Dict. Marcelle Benoit).

⁴⁵ Paris, Leder, Boivin, l'auteur, 1730 [in 4°, 18, 32 p.] FétB. US-Cn Case 3A 773. Fétis signalled n edition from 1747; facsimile edited by Minkoff in 1989.

⁴⁶ RISM C 927 FétB Paris, F-Pn, VM7-6286 online on Gallica.

⁴⁷ FétB - Herlin (Dict. Marcelle Benoit).

⁴⁸ F-Pnla 8-YTH-14327; F-Dm, I-6184 (2).

⁴⁹ FétB indicated by Papillon in 1745 Paris, Boivin, 1732 [in-4° oblong].

⁵⁰ FétB indicated by Papillon in 1745 Paris, Boivin, 1732 [in-4° oblong].

⁵¹ RISM C 925 FétB indicated by Papillon in 1745 FétB [In-fol. 1 folio limin., 18 p.] in Gallica F-Pn, D-6899 (7).

⁵² FétB wrote (error) 1736 indicated by Papillon in 1745 as well as the music printer Ballard's inventory after death Paris, Boivin, 1733 [in 4° oblong].

1734 One air published in the 'Mercure de France', in December, 1734). - [Paris], s.n., (1734).

Ah! J'entends que la foudre gronde⁵³

1740 *La Reconnaissance du Parnasse*, ballet mixed with stories and songs, which will be danced to the solemn distribution of these awards, August 12, 1740, Dijon, Augé, 1740.⁵⁴

1742 or before (?)

Troisième suite de pièces de différents auteurs pour le dessus et le par-dessus de viole, mises en ordre par Mr. Cappus [comprises pieces by Marais and by Caix d'Hervelois, but also 21 by Cappus, of which five are from his *Premier livre*]⁵⁵

1743 Codrus, tragedie en latin, Le Joueur, comedie en françois [programme donné le 7 août 1743]

The choregraphy by Mr. Chaliès, the music by Mr. Capus.

Dijon, Collège de la Compagnie de Jésus, chez Arnauld Jean-Baptiste Augé, seul imprimeur du Roi...1743.⁵⁶

1746 *Louis IX, roi de France, captif en Egypte*

(The choregraphy is by Mr. Chaliès. The music is provided by Mr. Capus)

Dijon, Collège de la Compagnie de Jésus, imprimeur-libraire : Pierre Desaint, 174.⁵⁷

1760? Pièces de musique mises en ordre par monsieur Cappus, musicien de l'Académie de Dijon et premier musicien de Concert. Le prix est de 14 s par suite et se vend chez ledit sieur Cappus qui loge au logis du roi, place Royal à dijon l'an M.DCC.LX. A Dijon (*sic*).⁵⁸

First Book of Pièces de Viole.⁵⁹

Jean Cappus' *Pièces de Viole* was published in 1730. The book is dedicated to His highness the Count of Tavane Brigadier of the Royal Army, his first lieutenant commander in Burgundy.⁶⁰ Here Cappus is described as being a 'Pensionary of the city of Dijon for Music, Master Ordinary of the Academy'⁶¹

⁵³ RISM C 926; GB Lbl, 297.b.6. On-line: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6337429s/f159.item..>

⁵⁴ For the Jesuit College of Dijon, reported by Milsand, *op.cit.* p.499] Booklet kept at F-Dm, 51998. There is no mention of the name of the composer, but, in all likelihood, it is Jean Cappus.

⁵⁵ ms, private collection, copy at the CMBV.

⁵⁶ F-Pnlr, RES-YF-2630.

⁵⁷ 7 p. in 4° F-Pn, RES-YF-2732 (39) D. Herlin (Dict. Marcelle Benoit).

⁵⁸ BM de Lyon, ms.FM 6719, 100 p., 19 x 24,5cm. Printing error? The date is posthumous to Jean (-Baptiste) Cappus who died in 1751; most certainly published by Nicolas, Jean (Baptiste) Cappus' son.

⁵⁹ Jonathan Dunford has recorded the complete Book of Cappus' viol music (label Astres disques on CDBaby) available on all platforms (iTunes/Amazon/GooglePlay).

⁶⁰ Monseigneur le Comte de Tavane Brigadier des Armées du Roy, Son Premier Lieutenant General Commandant en Bourgogne.

⁶¹ Pensionnaire de la Ville de Dijon pour la Musique, Maître Ordinaire de l'Academie.

Cappus' *Pièces de Viole* are mentioned in the 'Mercure de France' in November 1730, which adds additionally that they were well appreciated.⁶²

The book contains thirty six pieces arranged in four suites:⁶³

- 1 G-major (10 pièces)
- 2 D-minor (8 pièces)
- 3 D-major (8 pièces)
- 4 A-minor (10 pièces)

The organization follows the classic order of a French suite. Each suite opens with a Prélude (or a Fantaisie) followed by an Allemande, Rondeau or Gavotte, which takes the place of the antiquated Courante, with a Sarabande, Menuets, Musettes and Gigue interspersed within.

It is clearly evident from the style, technique as well as the use of symbols for ornamentation that Cappus' was intimately familiar with Marin Marais' works. For the moment one can only conjecture what connection there was between the two men. Perhaps Cappus' just studied Marais' works with great diligence? Or perhaps while in Paris Cappus' met or studied with the great master? This particular point may be revealed in the future by more research.

This intimacy with Marais' music and particular notation, specific for the viol, is particularly manifest in the use of the symbol 'e'. Only Marais and his son Roland are known to have used it. Neither Caix d'Hervelois, Forqueray, nor Morel use this symbol, but only Marais and his son Roland. Marais writes:

"The most beautiful pieces infinitely lose their taste if they are not performed in the proper style, and not being able to give an idea of this taste with ordinary musical notation I was obliged to add new symbols which were capable of entering my wishes towards those whom perform my pieces. "e" for example, signifies that one must express or swell the bow stroke by pressing more or less on the string as the piece requires and this sometimes at the beginning of the beat or on the dot as the mark indicates. In this manner we give a soul to the pieces with which they would be too uniform."⁶⁴

Here is an example of the use of the symbol "e" from the G-major Suite, Sarabande La Niquette :

⁶² See footnote 5.

⁶³ There are always two Menuets with the first played *da capo*. I therefore count the two each time as one piece.

⁶⁴ Marin Marais, *Pièces de Viole* Livre III 1711: 'Les plus belles piece perdant infiniment de leur agrément, Si elles ne son exécutteés dans le goût qui leur est propre, et ne pouvant donner une idée de ce goût en me servant des notes ordinaries j'ay été obligé de supléer de nouvelles marques capables de faire entrer dans mes veües ceux qui jouëront mes pièces – e – p. exle signiffie qu'il fault exprimer ou enfler le coup d'archet en appuyant plus ou moins sur la corde Selon que la piece le demande et cela quelque fois sur le commencement du tems ou sur la vailleu du point comme la marque le désigne. De cette maniere l'on donne de l'ame aux pièces qui sans cela seroient trop uniformes.'



Manifest as directly inspired from Marais' works and symbols are the two kinds of vibrato described by Marais with the corresponding signs, the two finger variety “flattement” and the little finger alone “plainte”. Both of these use the same symbols as Marais represented by a wavy line that is either horizontal or vertical. The horizontal one will represent a two finger vibrato while the vertical one a single finger (most often the fourth finger). Here is an example with both in the same bar:



What is rather unique to Cappus' technique (and personally I have never seen in other French viol music) is the use of a whole tone for this *flattement* in Cappus' music exemplified in the previous example. Here it is in context in from the a minor suite the Sarabande “La Chonchon” :

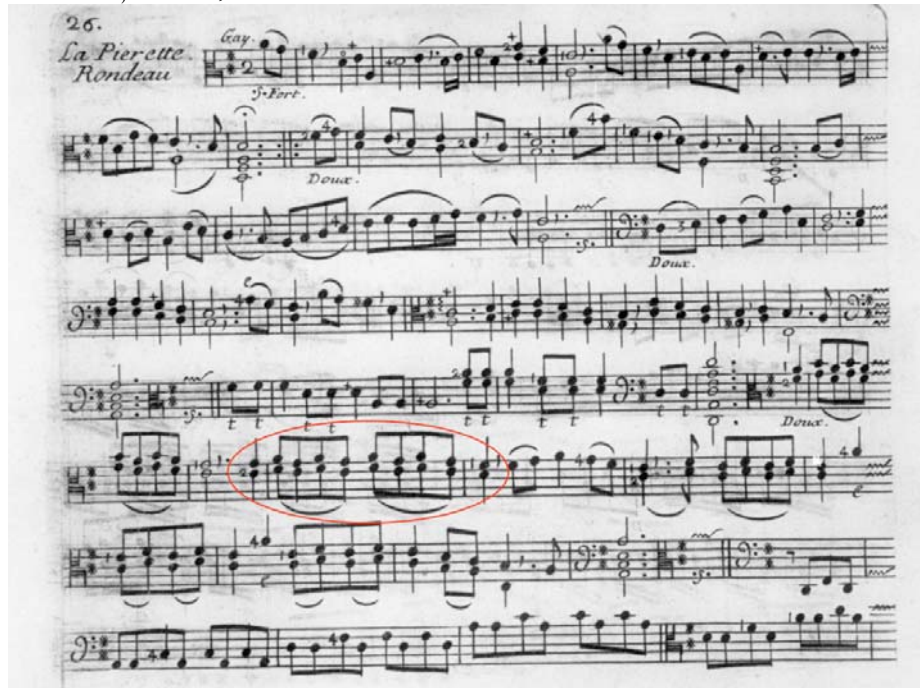


Given that with the fingering specified the lower note of the third, the d must be played with the second finger as specified, the higher note of the third, the f is played with the first. As there is a clearly intentional double *flattement* symbol indicated by the double □ the lower d can be performed with third finger pressing tightly against the second finger as described in Rousseau.⁶⁵ As for the higher note the d, the only finger left available is therefore the fourth and will produce a whole tone *flattement*.

⁶⁵ Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* – 1687, 104: ‘Le Battement se fait lors que deux doigts estant pressez l'un contre l'autre, l'un appuye sur la chorde, & le suivant la bat fort legerement. Le Battement imite une ceratine agitation douce de la Voix sur les Sons...’

Cappus' fingering is original and uses many of Marais' systems of *tenués* or holds. Passages in scales use the *nouveau port de main* developed according to Jean Rousseau⁶⁶ invented by Sainte-Colombe, which in essence is what 'cellists have inherited as left hand technique. For chording he uses the old *ancien port de main* as one uses playing a lute or guitar nowadays. This having been said, many passages show that Cappus was also a master violinist as well as being a violist and certainly had either very large hands and also had great agility and flexibility in his left hand technique.

Here one has a clear example of this flexibility, in this case the fourth finger in the D-major Suite, *la Pierette*:

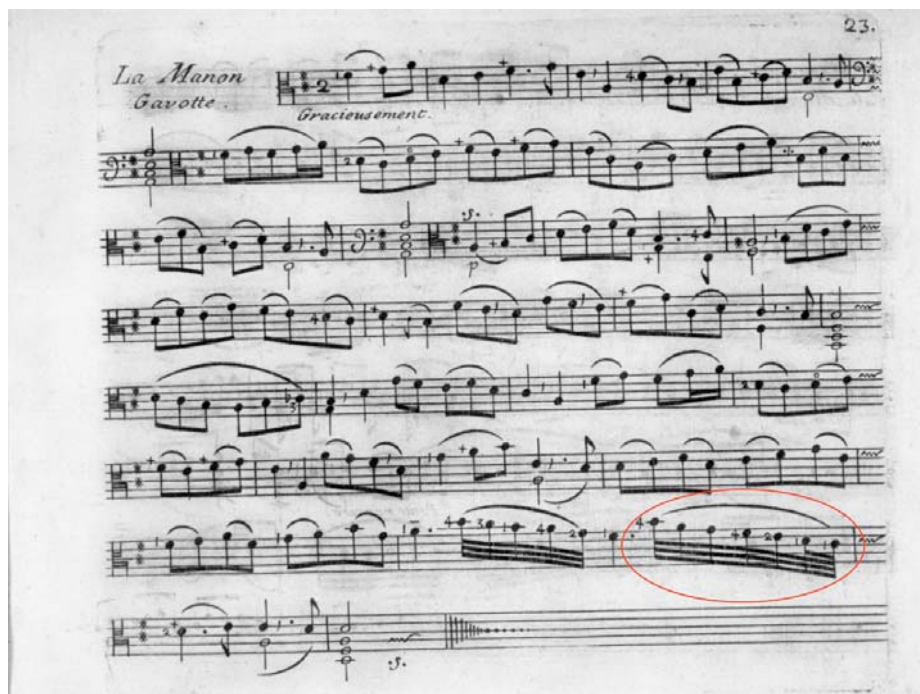


The lower note of the third is played on the second a string with the middle finger as indicated. So therefore the top of the third, the g is played with the first finger. In the following bar one must also perform the top a of the third, with the third finger, and the only possibility is to perform the lower f# with the fourth finger if one wants to respect the slurs. This involves an in-habitual (for violists but habitual for violinists) extension of the fourth finger. This indeed challenges the violists flexibility with a typical weak finger.

Another manifestation of this flexibility is a particularly curious and non-typical shift in French viol music.

Here is an example from the D-major Suite, Gavotte *la Manon* :

⁶⁶ Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* – 1687, 29-32.



The very last note a thirty-second note, and to boot under a slur is performed with the index finger. The preceding note as well. So one must slide quickly from one note to the other rather than what one would expect from French viol masters. That is to play the last note on the third string in the same position with the fourth finger therefore no shifting is necessary.

The places and names

We can glean something of Cappus' milieu from the titles of the pieces. As one would expect, most of the places and persons mentioned have some relation to his native Burgundy.

The Duke for whom this book is dedicated is surely Charles-Henry-Gaspard de Saulx, Viscount of Tavannes, Knight of the orders of the King, Lieutenant General of the Duchy of Burgundy, Brigadier of the armies of his Majesty.⁶⁷ The fourth piece of the G-major suite names him specifically 'Le Comte de Saulx'. *La Gazette de France*⁶⁸ indicates the death of his wife, Elisabeth de Mailly du Breuil on the 21st of February 1728, in her 27th year. The fourth piece of the d minor suite "Gavotte La Contesse" is perhaps a reference to her or the Duke's new bride?

Other titles show firmer roots in Burgundy. The 'Gigue La Puligni' in the G-major suite refers to the village Puligny, now known as Puligny-Montrachet in the Côtes de Beaune wine region; 'Raton', the title of the Gigue in the d-minor suite is a well known family name in Irancy (Yonne) in the XVIIIth Century.

⁶⁷ Vicomte de Tavannes, Chevalier des ordres du Roi, lieutenant général du duché de Bourgogne, brigadier des armées de sa Majesté.

⁶⁸ *La Gazette de France*, Vol. 3, 261.

The allusion in 'La Bourguignotte',⁶⁹ from the d-minor suite which imitates a hurdy-gurdy to Cappus' native land is obvious; "La Chonchon" the Sarabande in the a-minor suite is still a well known family name in Joux-la-Ville (Yonne); The gavotte in this same a-minor suite "La Bierre" is an allusion to the town of Bierre-les-Semur.⁷⁰ The very last piece of the book, "La Mongey", certainly can be associated with the family Mongey, du Pont-de-Vaux, who issued many a councilor to the Burgundy Parlement. "La Pierrete" the rondeau that completes the 4th Suite, perhaps was Pierrette Gauthier, widow to the Lieutenant General of the Dijon Province, who in 1722 left an important sum to the Jesuit College in Dijon.⁷¹

The Dramatic Works

The *Retour de Zéphire, a divertissement* that was sung for the first time on the 7th of March in 1728 has only survived as a booklet, edited in Dijon. This is also the case for the *Plaisirs de l'hiver*, which was performed 'in the Queen's presence, in the Versailles castle' on the 13 of November 1730 and mentioned (as previously noted in the *Mercure de France* the same year.

For the time being, *Sémélé* is the only cantata which has been passed down to us in its complete form. Published in Paris, by Boivin and Le Clerc, in 1732, it is composed for "voix seule avec simphonie" (solo voice with accompanying instruments) and basso continuo. Under the subtitle of *La naissance of Bacchus* (the birth of Bacchus), the cantata celebrates the 'amiable God of grapes' which confirms, as if needed the roots of this music in Burgundy. It is composed of a Prelude followed by eight movements (5 airs and 3 recitatives). One must mention the 'violonchele' (*sic.*) specified for the basso continuo and a Prélude (on page 12). Even if it is plausible that Jean Cappus knew the opera with the same name by John Eccles, with the libretto by W. Congreve (1707), the tragedie lyrique by the same name by Marin Marais (1709) was most certainly familiar to him. In appendix A we will enter into much more specific detail about this cantata.

The provincial musical life was particularly animated by the Jesuit Colleges, in Dijon as elsewhere.

The musical taste of the Jesuits for the show, in all its forms, was manifested as early as the end of the sixteenth century (...) These shows provoked in the small provincial towns an interest that sometimes matched that aroused in Paris by the representation of ballets at the court.⁷²

Several booklets have come down to us, some mentioning Cappus' contribution explicitly, with others suggesting it.

⁶⁹ Name of a small helmet used by the infantry since the 16th century.

⁷⁰ François Chartraire. Parlemenry consular, tresorer for the provence of Burgundy was the Count of Bierre.

⁷¹ In 1683, the College of Jesuits gave a 'Acknowledgment' composed in Latin verses by Fr. Cl. Perry, turned into French verse by his nephew Sir Perry, and presented to Madame Pierrette Gautier for a silver altar front. given to the college church of Dijon. Dijon, Ressayre, 1683. Text reported by Milsand (*op. cit.*) and kept at the BM Dijon, old shelf number 11375.

⁷² McGowan, M M., *The Art of Court Ballet in France, 1531-1643*, Paris, CNRS, 1978, Chapter XII: The Contribution of the Jesuit Fathers to Ballet, 205-227.

As for the other works obviously, François (the father) signed the music of the one of 1700 (*Henrici Julii Borbonii laudes ...*) like others who followed - without mentioning the name of the musician. From 1722, it can only be Jean (The Temple of Glory, cantata, 1722, several booklets without mention of the name of the composer for the years 1724, without dates, then 1736, 1739, 1740 and 1742), *Codrus, the Player*, 1743, *Louis IX, King of France, captive in Egypt*, 1746. Concerning *Codrus, tragédie en latin et Le Joueur, comédie en français* (1743) and also *Louis IX, roi de France, captif en Egypte* (1746), written for the Jesuit College in Dijon, we only possess the librettos. These former compositions have an important choreography - the choreography is by Mr. Chaliès,⁷³ indicated in the librettos.

The Airs

Starting in 1693 and 1694, airs are published signed by “Mr. Cappus”, these airs are falsely attributed to Jean (Baptiste) Cappus in RISM (1693-2 and 1694 2) – which are published in ‘airs de différents auteurs à deux et trois parties...’ by Christophe Ballard. The first ones are for a single voice and basso continuo, the rest have ones for three voices. In total sixteen airs ‘Sérieux et à boire’, *chansonnettes*, and *vaux-de-ville*. It would not be too bold to attribute all of these to Jean's (Baptiste) father François.

Jean (Baptiste)'s works are not represented until the year 1732, where two books figure and one where he is the only composer published by Boivin. Unfortunately, at the present time not one has been unearthed. The solitary air that survives was published in the *Mercur de France* in December 1734 entitled ‘Ah ! j’entends que la foudre gronde’.⁷⁴

The Pedagogue

“A New Year's gift of music containing a short and easy method to learn this art in a very short time By Mr. Cappus Ordinary of Music to S.A.S. Monseigneur le Duc”⁷⁵ was published in 1730.⁷⁶ The example we now have, reprinted by Minkoff editions in 1989, has a handwritten phrase on its title page ‘Ce livre est à l'usage de Sr Magdelene Emée ce 8 septembre 1736’. Its miniature size (in-8, 32 p.) was frequent at this time.⁷⁷

Besides basic musical skills such as reading different clefs, time signatures, fermatas and other symbols as well as rhythmical values, Cappus spends almost a quarter of the book entering on detailed information on how to perform notes inégales. This treatise is therefore invaluable to the musician seeking an understanding of how notes inégales were applied to 18th century French

⁷³ ‘Les pas de danse sont de la composition de Mr. Chaliès.’

⁷⁴ RISM C926.

⁷⁵ Etrennes de Musique contenant une méthode courte et facile pour apprendre cet art en très peu de Temps Par M. Cappus Ordinaire de Musique de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Duc.

⁷⁶ Fétis signals a reprint in 1747, not found yet; Minkoff published a facsimile in 1989.

⁷⁷ For example Jean Rousseau, 64 p. in 1683, 38 p. in 1691; Delair, 61 p. in 1690; Boyvin, 16 p. in 1700; Saint-Lambert, 68 p. in 1702 and 64 p. and 1707 ; Levens, 92 p. and 1743; Roussier, 66 p. and 1769 ; Baillon, 63 p. and 1781.

music. The book concludes with a handy transposition table using the system of different clefs to transpose as was common for instance in Rousseau's *Rousseau Traité de la viole* published in 1687.

I hope that with the research tools provided in this brief essay other musicians and researchers will now be able to continue this adventure on this totally disregarded composer. One important issue to underline is that the three books were printed; the Second Book of *Pièces de Viole* in 1733, as well as both the 1732 prints of the Premier & Second recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire, so with a little diligent hunting in private collections and archives they may eventually turn up. I might mention that with the sheer quantity of vocal music for Divertissements as well as for plays there is much hope that the actual music is still extant. I rest assured that with a little perseverance and science more of this wonderfully inventive composer's music will be unearthed and appreciated anew.

Appendix A

Sémélé ou La Naissance de Bacchus – Cappus' only surviving Cantata

Cantate à voix seule avec symphonie

Se vend à Paris chez le Sr Boivin, Marchand, rue St Honoré, a la regle d'or le Sr le Clerc, Marchand, rue du roule, a la Croix d'or le Sr Cappel a Dijon.

Avec Privilège du Roy

Le prix broché 2 lt

This cantata is among one of the last of its kind, the success of its genre put the Tragédies Lyriques in the shadows at the beginning of the century.⁷⁸

Source: The volume which can be consulted on-line (Gallica), is conserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and is the only copy known.⁷⁹ The work contains 19 pages of music, perfectly written and engraved.

The history of *Sémélé* :

The stories are abundant, but can be summarized as follows :

The young priestess of Zeus (Jupiter), Sémélé, was observed by the one who met her many times, never appearing in his divine form. Hera (Junon) was jealous, so therefore took the appearance of Sémélé's old Nanny so that the God would show himself as he really was, to therefore prove that he was indeed the master of Olympus, all the time knowing that no mortal could possibly survive such a vision. Zeus therefore tries to dissuade but in the end realizes the wish. Sémélé totally shocked, only has enough time to save what was going to be her child and places the child in her thigh until birth. This is how Dionysos (Bacchus), is born twice. Later, he searches for his mother in hell, with his father's permission. He then leads Sémélé to Olympus where she becomes immortal under the name of Thyroné.

Sémélé in Baroque Music:

Without making an exhaustive list of works inspired by this story, here are several examples from this period:

(1) *La tragédie à machines* (lyrical tragedy with machines for the décor) made by Claude Boyer, *Les amours de Jupiter et Sémélé* would now have a great following. Its composer, Louis de Mollier, writing about music (described by La Laurencie, as one of the creators of French Opera) for the *Théâtre du Marais* on 1 January 1666.

(2) The *tragédie à machines* which continues to be the inspiration of the opera by Johann Wolfgang Franck, (Hamburg, 1681), text by Johann Philipp Förtsch.

⁷⁸ Antony, James R., *La musique en France à l'époque baroque*, Paris, Flammarion, coll. Harmoniques, 1981 [the 'cantate française', chapter 23, 466-485, is the richest synthesis on the genre]. The original edition: *French Baroque Music (from Beaujoyeux to Rameau)*, B.T. Batsford Ltd, London, 1974, then revised by W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1981. The same author provides the article 'cantate', 105-107, in the *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, published under the direction of Marcelle Benoît, chez Fayard, 1992.

⁷⁹ RISM A C925.

- (3) For a play by W. Congreve, John Eccles, wrote a masque in 1707 which was never performed, but, as published, inspired Handel (See No. 9 below).
- (4) The year 1709 saw the creation of the tragédie lyrique by Marin Marais, *Sémélé*, with the text by Houdar de la Motte, after Boyer.
- (5) Elisabeth-Claude Jacquet de la Guerre leaves us a spectacular *Sémélé*.⁸⁰
- (6) Georg Philipp Telemann's *Jupiter and Semele* a lost opera, with libretto adapted by Boyer.
- (7) Antonio de Literes writes his zarzuela *Jupiter y Semele o El estrago en la finezxa* (Madrid, c.1718).
- (8) Johann Adolf Hasse gives *La Semele ov. La Richiesta fatale*, on a text by F. Ricciardi (Naples, Autumn 1726).
- (9) Georg Friedrich Handel takes up anew the theme of Eccles, after Congreve, as *Semele*, a secular oratorio, performed at Covent Garden in 1744.⁸¹

The work

The booklet has no identified author and may be by Jean Cappus himself. The same is true for the music. But one should not exclude that in his abundant production for the Jesuit College in Dijon this work might have been included. The cantata is in eight parts, including the seventh, titled 'air vif', which is particularly complex. The French spelling has been modernized in the footnotes.

1. Prélude in E major, consisting of 18 bars writing naturally for 'tous' (all) that including the solo instruments (simphonie) and the basso continuo *modérément*, in a common time (C) time signature.
2. Recitative also in E major, 8 bars in length with a d# to f# range, for voice and bc, again in common time (C).

The text a quatrain is the following :

*You who from the god of wine receive the power
Fauns, sylvains, unite,
God of the forests, run to all,
To honour Bacchus and sing his birth.*⁸²

The program is clear: The birth of Bacchus. One must not forget the numerous *airs de coeur* which are Bacchus-inspired songs, nor the Burgundian origins of the author.

3. Air Tendre, in E major, 140 bars counting the da capo (18 + 43 + 36 + 43), written for the "flute and violin" with, before the repeat, the

⁸⁰ Cantates françaises, livre III, ca.1715.

⁸¹ HWV 58.

⁸² 'Vous qui du dieu du vin recevez la puissance.

Faunes, sylvains, unissez-vous,
Dieu des forêts, accourez tous,
Pour honorer Bacchus et chanter sa naissance'.

indication “viol” for the 5-bar motif which directly follows the voice, then voice and BC, always in triple time. One should note the imitative writing and a few symbolic motifs on the words “folâtrer”, “rire” and “boire” (sport - laugh and drink). The tessitura is from d' to g#".

*Kind God of grapes seize our souls,
Spread your sweet flames,
To give us happy destinies.
Banish the crazy glory,
Let's chase the love of our hearts,
Let's leave all our ardour
To sport, laugh and drink.*⁸³

4. Recitative in C-sharp minor, 14 bars in length: in common-time, except for two triple-time bars. Tessitura g' to f#".

*Retrace the errors where the Queen of heaven, under borrowed features, made your mother fall. You take pleasure, she said, to the sovereign of gods. You are worthy to please him: but why does he make a mystery of a love that does you honour. I am afraid, nymph, I confess; I am afraid - a profane layman. Do not try to deceive you with a false address.*⁸⁴

This recitative marks the beginning of the story.

5. Air léger - (Instrumental Prelude consisting of 19 bars) in E-minor of 115 bars counting the da capo (19 + 28 + 40 + 28), in 3 time (3), tessitura: d' to g".

*Glory has its attractions in charming hearts, but, mistress, it often lacks tenderness which lovers expect. Glory and love animate us constantly. Love is our softer inclinations; glory has its enchantments. Glory and tenderness are the perfect lovers.*⁸⁵

6. Recitative, in E Major, 12 bars in common time: C, for voice and BC, tessitura from f#'' to f#".

*Juno is still talking, but already the princess is very suspicious:
to prove your ardour. You find everything possible - you swore it to me
by the terrible river. Fulfil your oath.*⁸⁶

⁸³ 'Aimable Dieu des raisins empare toi de nos ames,
Reponds y, reponds y les douces flames
Nous aurons d'heureux destines
Bannissons la foile gloire, chassons l'amour de nos coeurs
Bornons roule nos ardeurs a folatrer rire et boire.'

⁸⁴ 'Retraçons les erreurs où la reine des cieux
Sous des traits empruntés fit tomber votre mère
Vous plaisez, lui dit-elle, au souverain des Dieux,
Vous êtes digne de lui plaire :
Mais pourquoi fait-il un mystere
D'un amour qui vous fait honneur ;
Je crains nymphe, je le confesse
Je crains qu'un profane imposteur
Ne cherche à vous tromper par une fausse adresse'.

⁸⁵ 'La gloire a des attraits charmante, des coeurs elle est souvent maitresse, ce n'est pas toujours la tendresse qui forme les nœuds des amants. Que la gloire et l'amour nous animent sans cesse; l'amour fait nos plus doux penchants la gloire a ses enchantements la gloire et la tendresse sont les parfaits amants.'

One should note the literal figurative note painting in the tormented bass on 'vous me l'avez juré'.

7 – Air vif -

(a) Prélude, in E minor, 4/8 time signature, 22 bars, tessitura d#¹ to g²

*Take the lightning in hand, powerful master of the world
As shown in the eyes of Juno at this moment
May my eyes kindly respond to them
I'm expecting from your love this brilliant homage.⁸⁷*

(b) Recitative, in E minor, triple-time signature, followed by common-time (C), 8 bars, tessitura d¹-g²

*To dispel this sad desire,
The God truly emits his pain
Insensitive to the desire to preserve his life
Semele wants to see him in all his grandeur.⁸⁸*

(c) Prélude, vite, 'tous' (all) for the subject, and 'violonchele' written above the staff of the BC part, 12 bars in E major in common-time (C), Virtuostic piece illustrating the marvellous apparition of Jupiter, quick demisemiquavers in the 'cello part.

(d) (air), always with solo 'cello, very virtuosic, 18 bars, in E major in 4 time, range d¹-g².

*What brilliancy, what fires, what thunder,
Give me help,
Ah! I perish, great God,
Have you come to this place
By your burning thunderbolts to declare war on me?
You triumph, Juno, the horrors of death
Spread on my eyelid.
Hurry for pity to end my fate
But leave my son the light.⁸⁹*

⁸⁶ 'Juno parlais encore et déjà la princesse des cruels soupçons: Se laisse déchirer, cher auteur de mes maux, venez me rassurer, Pour prouver votre ardeur, vous trouvez tout possible, vous me l'avez juré par le fleuve terrible, accomplissez votre serment'.

⁸⁷ 'Prenez la foudre en main, puissant maître du monde
Tel qu'aux yeux de Junon montrez-vous à l'instant
Qu'à mes yeux empressés votre bonté réponde
J'attends de votre amour cet hommage éclatant'.

⁸⁸ 'Pour dissiper cette funeste envie,
Le Dieu fait vraiment éclater sa douleur
Insensible au désir de conserver sa vie
Sémélé veut le voir dans toute sa grandeur.'

⁸⁹ Quel éclat, quels feux, quel tonnerre,
Prêtez-moi du secours,
Ah ! je péris, grand Dieu,
Êtes-vous venu dans ce lieu
Par vos foudres brûlants me déclarer la guerre?
Tu triomphes, Junon, les horreurs de la mort
Se répandent sur ma paupière.
Hâte-toi par pitié de terminer mon sort

The dramatic sense is underlined by the virtuosity of the figures.

(e) Recitative “doux” “lentement” in the minor, with frequent time signature changes, 16 bars in E-minor, tessitura d'-g"

*You who rule the universe
And who makes the sky, the earth and the waves shake,
Jupiter: keep for the rest of the world
The fruit of our loves.
That a hundred different people
Stand in a deep peace under his laws.
May he be the father of pleasures.
Admire everywhere
His triumphant valour.
It's dying Semele
Who forms these desires.
Receive his last sighs.⁹⁰*

A “just” expression, touching with descriptive note painting in the BC.

8. Air louché, with a prélude (and postlude), E minor, in 6/4 time (with frequent juxtaposition of double and triple time), 20 bars, in E-Major, tessitura d#'-g#".

*Lovers: that a heavy chain
Make you moan in your best days,
Bacchus offers his help.
Break the knot that enchants you.⁹¹*

Mais laisse à mon fils la lumière.’

⁹⁰ ‘Vous qui régissez l’univers

Et qui faites trembler le ciel, la terre et l’onde,

Jupiter, conservez pour le repos du monde

Le fruit de nos amours.

Que cent peuples divers

Se rangent sous ses lois

Dans une paix profonde

Qu’il soit le père des plaisirs

Qu’on admire partout

Sa valeur triomphante.

C’est Sémélé mourante

Qui forme ces désirs.

Recevez ses derniers soupirs.

⁹¹ ‘Amants, qu’une chaîne pesante

Fait gémir dans vos plus beaux jours,

Bacchus vous offre son secours.

Rompiez le noeud qui vous enchante’.

‘Perslis clocke’; or, how to break a butterfly upon a dial

DAVID PINTO

Osbert Parsley’s ‘Clock’ hides a riddle in its *cantus firmus* (CF), a simple row of two rising then falling hexachords. All pitches vary in length to match the marching hours. Its standard edition (cited below) terms this handling *not* ‘strictly “canonic”’: admittedly, nothing else needs to be generated by cryptic clues or ingenious rubrics. Its editor included a facsimile from its main source showing ‘the CF being illustrated by a clock face’. It led him to propose that it ‘should probably be performed in repeated minims’, if taken ‘to represent a clock chiming’ (*viz* subdivided, into semibreves: his edition halved values). Problems begin here. ‘It is not clear why it never strikes five, nor [*sic*] why it strikes twelve at the “bottom” of the dial’. But surely 6 is a clock-face’s ‘bottom’, 12 its *apex*? (Only French Revolutionary faces site hours 5 and 10 there.) That word-choice for *position* is odd, but the two defects are real enough. Though two hexachords have exactly enough levels to place the twelve hour-numbers in a regular cycle, 12 *is* misplaced and 5 lacking. Special pleading, that any five-part piece in essence enshrines a number 5, could convince no-one. Those choices *do* involve cracking a code or canon: how to relate an incomplete numeric array and a mangled hour-sequence to a clock-face. It is not hard to envisage or devise circular music. Rounds cheerily engage with the practice; Guillaume de Machaut’s ‘Ma fin est mon commencement’ works the principle out in conceptually differing *rondeau* form. Canons can sport arcane verbal clues to hint at a resolution, but here a solidly descriptive title (even identifying the composer by surname) is hand-cuffed to music seemingly designed to subvert it. We have a musical solution, perfectly adequate note-wise: *the* solution. Paradoxically, the opaque part is its canon, or ‘rule’. If any does lurk here, it can only be (*pace* the editor) hidden in the CF, unless some external clue makes sense of otherwise arbitrary features chosen to plot a course in time. Nothing suggested so far has resolved mismatches of musical content to title, and pictured clock. A slight piece it may be, but it is more than a niggle to concede defeat in understanding a composer’s exact intent. Does it lie in an unobvious paradox, a jokey maxim like ‘lucus a non lucendo’? Has a real key or instruction gone missing, to stymie its recall for good; or is it a more accessible sort of code than that, and still crackable?

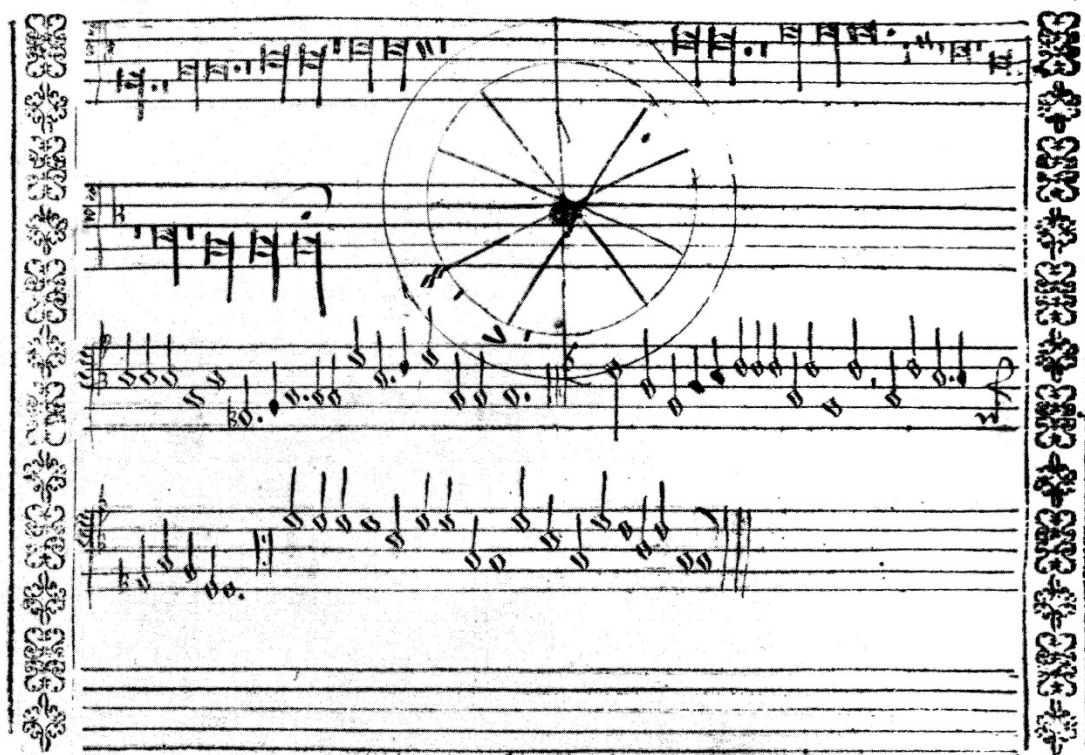
Cited edition: *Elizabethan Consort Music : I* ed. Paul Doe (Stainer and Bell for the Royal Musical Association; London, 1979) *Musica Britannica* XLIV, no. 44: score p. 78, commentary p. 189; the cantus firmus in voice III is illustrated at p. xxviii, facsimile 2 from GB-LBl Additional MS 30482 f. 70v. An edition by Peter Warlock

and André Mangeot for string quintet or orchestra (J. Curwen & Sons; London, 1930) is titled 'Perslis Clocke'.

Sources: GB-LBl Additional MSS 30480-4 (lines I-V); the 'James' MS p. 91 (I); GB-Ob 'Tenbury MS 1464 f. 1v (V). It is listed in its index to a companion partbook to 'James', Tenbury MS 389, but without a musical text. Titles in these are respectively, as modernised in *MB XLIV*: 'Parsley's Clock'; 'upon the dial in canon / 5 parts'; 'The song upon the Dial'; 'ut re mi fa sol la upon the dial in canon'. Cf listing in the British Museum's catalogue by Augustus Hughes-Hughes for the main source: 'Perslis clocke' (i, iii, f. 70b; ii, f. 75b; iv, f. 72b; v, f. 11b).

The brief CF states f-d', d'-f, both once. The first rising hexachord expands successive pitch-levels by unit length in regular sequence: component levels advance from 6 (duration-value and hour) to notes collectively enumerable as 11. There follows a disorderly handover in which 12 is absent; the falling statement has only five visible steps. Maybe 11 serves a twin function as last pitch-level of its own hexachord, then first of the next, joining tail to head: hexachordal settings do resort to just this overlapping device.¹ The next pitch, c' at one o'clock, the smallest possible unit duration, reverts to the dial's normal hours after 12; its successors again grow in size, to 4. But then 5 is omitted and the odd jump made straight to 12, end-of-row. There is, unspotted, a third slight anomaly. Ten rests intersperse the statements of CF pitches. All are equal semibreves but for one. A single breve, no less or more, sits between 11 and 1; as if vanished 12 can somehow be atoned for by doubling a length. The suggested editorial division of pitch-levels into unit lengths, expressed as a sum of untied semibreves, can only highlight the paradoxical mismatches. Among them is this seemingly random representation of a far longer duration by a rest: lengthened, but too cursorily to make any major symbolic point about the cardinal hour of the day, whether noon or midnight.

1 Two à3 by William Daman and Alfonso Ferrabosco I do exactly this: *MB XLIV* nos. 1-2.



The rudimentary clock-face drawn across part III provokes disquiet: musically irrelevant and too large, even inept, for any other conceivable ancillary purpose. It manages to slice the music on the first stave inelegantly into two segments, dividing Fa from Sol in the rising hexachord. It was clearly set down, if only as a circumference, before any music was copied. Possibly determined by eye, it set a radius to touch the topmost line of the first stave halfway across the page and centred on the second line of the second stave. That holds only the last two pitches of the CF preceded by their rests; the circle-drawer may have judged it too brief to need much room. A second compass-drawn circle within the first creates a band for numerals. Next, a vertical diameter linked upper and lower outermost edges; the position for horizontal quartering coincides with the second stave's second line. Four lesser cross-lines, restricted to the middle circle, fail even to pass through a centre, inked slightly too low (maybe it shifted on attempting a second concentric circle). This rude draughtsmanship divides these eight diagonals unequally, a sorry apology for regular hours. The outer band is inscribed with three arabic numbers, and only three: 6-7-8 in usual clockwise order, 6 sited at base, all facing outwards as on a clock. Two ticks between these numbers, inset so casually as to seem random, cannot be extra divisors. 7 and 8 are both set exactly just beyond the unevenly-spaced radii to which they appertain; 6 cannot lie directly beneath the vertical line (continued through the outer ring) but stands just to its

side, impinging⁶⁸ slightly. All this detail is hammered home purely to fix the exact sequence in forming marks: circles—lines—numbers. The musical text of the second piece on the page (a galliard formerly ascribed to Robert Parsons) cuts through the dial's lower rim.² It could have comfortably stood a stave lower, the fourth, but the copyist forged ahead regardless on the first to hand, the third. Vertical dashes for the first end-of-strain bar graze the dial's number 6 casually, almost as if to discount the value of having numbers on a dial at all (if very probably added *after* the dial music, the three were present before the galliard was copied).

A sketch of a dial was obviously prompted by a title of 'clock' in this source, the only one to use that word. It leaves queries over its aims. Why not add all hour-numbers? Why not hands too, for that matter (if not two, then one)? Hands would privilege one time above any other; but then to include only three hour-numbers awards them just that degree of attention. No number naturally begins representation of a day except 12 (doubling as zero hour); yet a number-row 1-12 is not in itself self-evidently representative, from any starting-point within it, of Time. A meaning not inherent in the musical notes must be imposed on them. This CF chose six o'clock; what rule justifies that? Halfway through, a jump to 1 mimics a clock-face, but succeeds only in emphasising the oddity of an extra rest replacing 12 immediately before it; noticeably longer, but minimally; unrelated to an absolute duration one would expect here. So awkward a slew of choices seems to add to inherent woes. The 'artist' (presumably the music's copyist) surely spotted that the CF begins at 6, and so started hours there. Did he then stumble over any of these sticking points? If queries posed above began to come home, they may have discouraged him from continuing. Clock-music stores up problems if it misplaces notes or relevant detail, and this music's internal structure defies any known clock-face sequence. Even Salvador Dali's soft watches look more normal in that area.³ That however is not to concede defeat: a clock is a red herring, but only a short leap away from a counterproposal.

The one and only solution is hidden in the titles and internalised by a musical structure that embodies the hexachord's *symbolic* function. It can stand on occasion for the vagaries of fortune, as well as the passage of time. Here it solidifies this last concept into representing sun and shadow on a sun-dial, 'dial' in accepted usage. (Even a rare instance of 'clock' for sundial is attested.) The music directly

² MB XLIV no. 112. 'Delac[o]jurt' (part 1) by Parsons directly precedes it, only in the partbook for its line I.

³ So far as gaugeable, Dali's fob-watches point to the hours 6 and 7 only: 'The Persistence of Memory', *La persistència de la memòria*, popularly *Els rellotges tous* (1931).

plots the rise and fall of light in the day, taken to begin not from dawn as such, but the *shadow cast on the dial* at six o'clock. In due six-note order a hexachord rises, literally: on as off the stave. This sun-line *should* continue and symbolise midday with 12, but 12 has disappeared: why? The last note in a rising hexachord begun at 6 must be at 11, dictated by pitch-level. Even so, why not just replicate that same d' level on downward La by a 12-note length? That would begin a return journey through 1 to end at a seemly five o'clock. What forbids its inclusion? Two things; the first is a singular conceptual and wholly musical impediment. A notated 12 *qua* Sun would have to stand *higher in the musical stave* than 11, and so raise the whole return sequence with it, to form a 'hard' hexachord e'-g after a first 'soft' one. That ugly conflict with the one-flat signature might just be conceivable, did it not lead to a wholly incongruous final, higher by a scalar note than it had begun.⁴ One must also have regard to the sun-dial, ideal or corrected for latitude. Noonday sun at highest is directly above a gnomon's profile, casting little or no shadow. For that reason 12 if invisible cannot be pictured, or notated, or even heard—*except by palpable absence*. Conceiving a rest as first 'note' in this hexachord could solve both problems credibly, if counterintuitively; especially since a 'first' pitch-level *has* already been sounded on d' in joint enough manner to act as a normal capping level for two hexachords, so not as to rouse suspicion except in a seasoned player or informed listener. It need not be an extra silence *per se*; other parts sound through this rest, as in all; here it is technically a bridge passage, maybe. But that is only a halfway stage to the full point of its absence.

The composer could have extended the CF midday gap to a count of twelve semibreves but chose otherwise. Was that to discount any hint of excessive activity in it? Field-workers shun the heat of midday to rest briefly in any shade available. A resort to pastoral whimsy, admittedly, cannot hope to reinvent a composer's thought-process; but then Dali let slip that an image of a Camembert melting in the sun inspired his soft watches. There is though a clue to the best reason that proves twelve must be durationless. The 'double' rest, a breve, is nothing of the sort—not a single lengthened rest. It is *two* rests, each a semibreve, notated in contiguity. They must of necessity surround a 'nothing'; maybe the 'noon gap' found on some dials. It brings the count of intercalated rests between twelve levels up to the eleven that it should be, and now can be seen to be indeed there; restoring the integrity of a scheme to separate all hours by a single semibreve. It also proves that noon is conceptualised as invisible, and so incorporeal. This

⁴ That does not rule out, even in the CF, a possibility of a little *musica ficta* that notationally does not 'exist'. It is feasible to naturalise pitch b (flat) in line III at 2 p.m., bar 31, ending the main section before the tripla.

instance shows moreover how there can be a genuine canon cryptically involved in its musical text alone, without which a piece's full significance cannot be appreciated.

The meridian once past, a shadow trace is visible again by one in the afternoon: it becomes this hexachord's *second* degree, by sleight of hand and thought. Why though jump from 4 to end on 12, with 5 left out? The piece would certainly be that bit briefer than it already is, if its coda had chosen the lesser of the two numbers left. In contrapuntal imitative canons though, pitch-based as most are, the 'dux' has to abandon rigour before the last gasp and turn into a pedal or else peter out, abandoning strict imitation. This non-imitative canon already relies on note-duration in pedal form and so cannot be omitting another here for an hour; unless it has simply become a basic pedal without notice. But that seems to dodge the question. Absenting 5 and placing 12 at the end may still yield extra symbolic force. Maybe 12-for-night covers the lack: it gives itself as midnight, but also, doubly, all the unstated missing hours, 5-11 p.m., 1-5 a.m.: 12 in number. This would reinstate 5 twice in the process, and allow all the rest to be present twice over in a total 24 (apart from the invisible noon). It would certainly 'save the phenomena', if a way is demanded to reach completion and absolute symmetry to a solution; since 5 is still *absolutely* suppressed, even more than 12, if it has no matching duration at all. There is a final framework to apply. Just as the shadow vanishes at ideal noon, the imagined light may not register on the dial much after four o'clock, and so be too low to calibrate time. The disappearance of number could propose an hour to end daily toil for any worker reliant on direct sunlight. The piece's final pedal of 12 then 'shadows' something else: the darker hours that bring a chance of evening frolic in a final tripla section before immobile sleep. The dial has a fundamental difference from a clock-face in that it is not obliged to carry all twelve hour numbers on its surface; a demand to see them expressed is an unwarranted expectation. In the real world, it is not uncommon for dials to end their number-sequence by mid-afternoon. Examples survive with much the time-range of Parsley's.⁵ Murally displayed dials have to put the hour of 12 at the lowest point of the arc ranging the hours: that seems at disparity with a musical image of a sun first rising, then falling. One may then need to envisage the dial as flat and horizontal, rather than vertical and mural. It may not denote precisely a season in the year, though it is surely a summer, not winter sun visible by 6 a.m. on the dial. Art has to supply an idealised treatment for noon, low sun and night, if begun

⁵ For example, Ripon Cathedral, Yorkshire, has a mural dial of the 17th-18th century period which, though now much restored, seems to keep original hours: beginning at VI like Parsley, but up to V at the end.

from the premise uncovered here. Any picturing of shadows cast by the sun inherits an asymmetry inherent in life.

One must not forget performance, either. The music presents a complex symbol: part sun-dial itself (the stave), part the sun's rise and fall (the notes on that), and part the shadow cast on its numbers (the notes' duration). It would then be gratuitously misleading to 'deconstruct' this symbolic CF carillon fashion. Its original assorted value-lengths are given in combinations of up to three (none less than a breve apart from the one semibreve), that could well stand for single notes: whether playing them so is viable with a single bow-length or by a wind-player's lung-content is a different matter. Maybe an *impression* of continuous sound should still be made. Musicians or connoisseurs of the art were surely expert and capable enough to grasp symbolic lengths in audible or visual form from a durational representation, given half a clue. In this context it is irresistible to quote one of Hilaire Belloc's epigrams 'On a Sundial':⁶

I am a sundial, and I make a botch
Of what is done far better by a watch.

His mock dismay echoes Parsley's genuine wit. It would be a pity to misunderstand Parsley's point (complemented by his) about adequate representation of time through light and shade combined. Both conceal a paradox equal to veteran dial inscriptions like 'Horas non numero nisi serenas', 'I reckon not the hours, but for the fair'. It complements the old 'lucus a non lucendo' (and nearly as neatly) if we substitute post-classical 'diale' for 'lucus', given the rainfall in the British Isles. The interesting point to emerge is that not just its editors but a contemporary copyist of the only complete extant text for the piece mistook its symbolism. It confirms a principle of textual criticism: one is wholly justified in dismissing, disputing or relegating (by reinterpreting) manuscript authority, if demonstrably erroneous. With commendable caution the standard edition titled this short piece 'The song upon the dial', following the exact wording in just one extant source—not the complete set of parts.⁷ It is always a shame though to lose a composer's name, and 'Parsley's Dial', in keeping it, would at least gently rebuff any still-prevalent notion of a clock-face; though it might take an academic committee a half-yearly lunch or two to issue a pronouncement on this vital affair and concede the uses of the relabelling. One more proposal seems in order, to end with. However else the piece is played, an ensemble will risk inauthenticity, or gross insensitivity at the

6 *The Verse of Hilaire Belloc* ed. W.N. Roughead (The Nonesuch Press; [London], 1954) p. 120;
2/ *H. Belloc Complete Verse* intr. W.N. Roughead (Gerald Duckworth; London, 1970).

7 GB-Ob Tenbury MS 1494 f. 1v 'The Songe vpon the Deyall' by 'Mr Perseley'.

very least, if the partbook with the ‘sundial’ line is not opened to give it a prospect facing *south*: only by players in the northern hemisphere, of course.

Charles Frederick Abel's Viola da Gamba Music: A New Catalogue, Second Revised Version

PETER HOLMAN
and
GÜNTER VON ZADOW

Introduction to the Second Revised Version

The Revised Version of Peter Holman's New Catalogue was published in *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, Volume Eight (2014). Since then a number of hitherto unknown works have been found which are by Abel or which can be attributed to him. I have been in contact with Peter Holman to assign new numbers to these works, and Edition Güntersberg has used these numbers in several editions already. In April 2017 I have published an addendum to this catalogue.¹ It is now time to put together a Second Revised Version of this catalogue.

28 new works have been added, so that the catalogue now lists a total of 124 works. The additions and modifications are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Two new sources account for all the new pieces: *The Ledenburg Collection* and *The Maltzan Collection*. A description of these collections is added under the heading 'Sources'.

Two categories have been modified. 'Category 3: Viola da Gamba and Violoncello' is renamed to 'Viola da gamba and Violoncello or two Violas da gamba' to allow for the duetto of the Maltzan Collection. 'Category 5: Flute, Viola da Gamba and Bass/Continuo' is renamed to 'Flute/Violin, Viola da Gamba and Bass/Continuo' to allow for the new trios in the Ledenburg Collection. A new category, 'Category 9: Viola da Gamba Concertos', is introduced to allow for the new concerto in the Ledenburg Collection.

The convention to add an 'A' to the work number has been introduced to indicate attributed works, and a new optional description line 'Attribution:' tells by whom the attribution was made. All necessary new library sigla have been added, together with several updates and the addition of some footnotes.

I wish to thank Sonia Wronkowska for reviewing the addendum to this catalogue, and Thomas Fritsch for reviewing the draft of this revision.

Günter von Zadow
Heidelberg, December 2017

¹ Günter von Zadow, *Addendum to Charles Frederick Abel's Viola da Gamba Music: A New Catalogue, Revised Version* (Heidelberg 2017, www.guentersberg.de).

Amendments

February 2018 A4:1 edition added
 A9:1A edition added

Introduction

Charles Frederick Abel was probably the most prolific composer for the viola da gamba after the Baroque period.² We have ninety-five surviving works featuring the gamba in solo or obbligato roles: thirty pieces for unaccompanied gamba (plus three short cadenza-like passages); forty-nine solos or sonatas and two separate minuets for gamba and bass; four duets for gamba and violoncello; a gamba part possibly from a sonata with obbligato harpsichord; two incomplete trios for flute, gamba and bass; a quartet for flute, violin, gamba and violoncello; two quartets for gamba, violin, viola and violoncello; and an aria with gamba obbligato. In addition, there are a number of surviving violoncello parts that may originally have been intended for the gamba, and we know from newspaper advertisements and other documentary sources that many other works once existed, as we shall see.

Most of Abel's viola da gamba music was catalogued and published in modern editions by Walter Knappe in the 1960s and early 70s, though his work is unsatisfactory in several respects.³ A number of pieces were omitted from his catalogue, some of which were known when it was compiled, there are many errors in the listing of sources and in the incipits of the pieces, and he is not a reliable guide to Abel's hand, failing to recognize genuine examples and wrongly claiming copies made by others as autographs. All in all, the time is ripe for a new catalogue.

In what follows I have grouped Abel's gamba music into eight categories by scoring:

1. Unaccompanied viola da gamba
2. Viola da gamba and bass/continuo
3. Viola da gamba and violoncello or two violas da gamba
4. Viola da gamba and ?harpsichord
5. Flute/violin, viola da gamba and bass/continuo
6. Flute, violin, viola da gamba and violoncello
7. Viola da gamba, violin, viola and violoncello

² For Abel's viola da gamba music, see especially F. Flassig, *Die solistische Gambenmusik in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1998), 195-203, 239-240; M. O'Loughlin, *Frederick the Great and his Musicians: The Viola da Gamba Music of the Berlin School* (Aldershot, 2008), 198-204, 212; P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 200-232. Abel is normally referred to today using the German forms of his first names, Carl Friedrich, though he Anglicized them for his English publications and on official documents, such as those relating to his lawsuit against Longman, Lukey and Co., GB-Lna, C12/71/6 (1773), or the letters patent for his denization, GB-Lna, C97/611497 (11 May 1775); I am grateful to Ann van Allen Russell for these references.

³ W. Knappe, *Bibliographisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Karl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787)* (Cuxhaven, 1971); C. F. Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. W. Knappe, 16 vols. (Cuxhaven, 1958-1974).

8. Soprano, viola da gamba, two violins, viola and bass/continuo
9. Viola da gamba concertos

Within each category the works are presented in the order they appear in the primary sources, and the sources are ordered by the alphabetical order of their RISM library sigla, with (in the case of Category 2), the printed collection coming first in the sequence. Knape's catalogue numbers (WKO) have been included, but since a number of works are not in WKO I have allocated new numbers in the form 1:4 (i.e. the fourth piece in Category 1) or 7:2 (the second in Category 7), thus allowing for extra pieces to be added as they come to light; I suggest that works are referred to by prefixing the number with A for Abel, e.g. A2:75.

An 'A' appended to the work number, indicates an anonymous work which can be attributed to Abel, e. g. A2:55A.

Abel wrote his viola da gamba parts mostly in the treble clef, expecting it to be played at the lower octave; I have preserved this feature in the incipits. Occasionally, as in 4:1, 7:1 and 7:2, the parts are written in the alto and bass clefs, as in modern practice, which suggests the intervention of a contemporary copyist or arranger. I have made a distinction between solo gamba works that have a simple accompaniment, occasionally figured and usually labelled 'Basso' (Category 2), and duets specifically for gamba and violoncello (Category 3) in which the violoncello has a more active role. The titles of the pieces are given in the form they appear in the principal source; I have given appropriate titles to untitled pieces in square brackets. The incipits have been transcribed directly from the sources, where they are available, with a minimum of editorial changes and additions, though a few obvious errors have been corrected without comment; the exact placing and duration of slurs is sometimes open to question and may differ slightly from modern editions. I have only included fingerings that are autograph, in my opinion.

If we have several sources for a particular work, all sources are given in a list, separated by semicolons. The related incipit reflects the first source in the list.

I have tried to list all modern editions, and would be glad to hear of any I have missed – or of any other omissions and errors. I am grateful to Susanne Heinrich, Michael O'Loghlin and Günter von Zadow for their helpful comments on a draft of the catalogue.

Peter Holman
Colchester, December 2014

Library Sigla

(Following the RISM system used in *Grove Music Online*)

A-HE	Heiligenkreuz, Musikarchiv des Zisterzienserstiftes
A-LA	Lambach, Benediktiner-Stift Lambach, Bibliothek
AUS-NLwm	Nedlands (Perth), Wigmore Music Library, University of Western Australia
CZ-Pnm	Prague, Národní Muzeum
D-B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden
D-LEb	Leipzig, Bach-Archiv
D-OSa	Osnabrück, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv
DK-Kk	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
GB-Ckc	Cambridge, Rowe Music Library, King's College
GB-Lbl	London, The British Library
GB-Lna	London, The National Archives
GB-Lu	London, University of London, Senate House Library
PL-Pu	Poznań, Library of the Adam Mickiewicz University
S-Uu	Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek
US-NYp	New York, NY, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music Division

Publisher Abbreviations

CAP ⁴	Charivari Agréable Publications, Oxford
DE	Dovehouse Editions, Ottawa, Viola da gamba series
Fretwork	Fretwork Editions, London
EG	Edition Güntersberg, Heidelberg
EW	Edition Walhall, Magdeburg
HM	Hortus Musicus, Bärenreiter, Kassel
Knape	C. F. Abel, <i>Compositionen</i> , ed. Walter Knape, Cuxhaven
PRB	PRB Productions, Albany CA
UO	Ut Orpheus Edizioni, Bologna

⁴ The editions by Charivari Agréable Publications quoted in this catalogue are now available from Edition Walhall (EW): CAP040=Cap040; CAP041=EW935; CAP042=EW960. G. v. Zadow, December 2017.

Sources

The Favourite Songs in the Opera Sifari, 2 vols. (London: Welcker, [1767]). A selection of arias from the opera in full score. 8:1 is in vol. 1, pp. 2-7; copy consulted: GB-Lbl, G.206.k.(2).

Six Easy Sonattas for the Harpsichord, or for a Viola da Gamba, Violin or German Flute, with a Thorough-Bass Accompaniment ([?London, ?1772]). It consists of 2:1-6 in score. The circumstances of its publication are unclear: it is conventionally said to have been published by J. J. Hummel of Amsterdam in 1772, though it has an English title and the only evidence of his involvement is a printed label stuck on the title-page of the only surviving copy, D-Dl, Mus. 3122-R-2; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 218. There is a facsimile with an introduction by Michael O’Loghlin (Heidelberg, 2005), EG, G501.

Les Suites des trios premieres: trios pour le violon, violoncello, et basso (London: Longman, Lukey and Co., [1772]). It consists of parts of 5:1, 5:2 and a variant of *Six Sonatas for a Violin, a Violoncello, & Base, with a Thorough Base for the Harpsichord*, op. 9 (London, 1772), no. 5; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 224-226. The only known copies are at GB-Ckc (violoncello and basso parts) and AUS-NLwm (violoncello part).

A-LA, oblong-quarto manuscript parts of 7:1 and 7:2, copied by an unidentified hand. The ultimate source was clearly Abel’s *Six Quartettos for Two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello Obligati*, op. 8 (London, 1769), nos. 5 and 2, though the fact that they are numbered 1 and 3 in the manuscripts rather than 5 and 2 suggests that there was at least one intermediate source.

D-B, KHM 25 a/b. Folio scores of 2:7 and 2:8 copied by an unidentified late eighteenth-century German hand.⁵ It is not autograph, as claimed by Knape:⁶ the handwriting is quite different from Abel’s known autographs, such as GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, Items 1-5 and the first section of US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, the composer is given the formal title ‘Sig^r Abel’ (he signed his work ‘C. F. Abel’), and the viola da gamba part is mostly written in the alto clef; the composer wrote his gamba music in the treble clef.

D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10. Folio parts of the three-movement version of 6:1, copied on paper stamped ‘J J / Berlin’ by the same late nineteenth-century copyist as part of D-B, Mus. Ms. 263 and Items 1 and 2 of D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2. He may be the Braunschweig cellist and gamba player Johann Klingenberg (1852-1905) since D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2 came from his collection.⁷

D-B, Mus. Ms. 263. Folio scores and gamba parts of 2:10 and 2:7, copied by two late nineteenth-century hands. The first, possibly Johann Klingenberg, also copied D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10 and Items 1 and 2 of D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2. The second

⁵ These sonatas are also called ‘Berlin Sonatas’ or ‘Prussian Sonatas’.

⁶ WKO, p. 233.

⁷ For Klingenberg, see O’Loghlin, *Frederick the Great and his Musicians*, 68.

hand used paper stamped 'C. Peters München'. They are edited for performance with added dynamics and a keyboard realization of the bass.

D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2. Folio scores of 2:10, 1:3 and 1:4 (Item 1), 6:1 (Item 2), 2:7 and 2:8 (Item 4), as well as Abel's two sonatas for violoncello and bass WKO 147 and 148 (Item 3), from the collection of Johann Klingenberg. The hand of Items 1 and 2, possibly Klingenberg himself, also copied D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10 and part of D-B, Mus. Ms. 263.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697. A scrapbook containing seven separate items, the first five of which are Abel's autographs of 2:9, 1:1, 1:2, 1:3, and 1:4. Items 6 and 7 are manuscripts each containing sequences of 15 sonatas by Abel for viola da gamba and bass (2:10-21, 23, 25-26 and 2:27-41), as well as, in Item 6, the individual minuets 2:22 and 2:24. They were copied by an unidentified hand probably in the 1770s from Abel's autographs; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 209-211. Most if not all the items were owned by Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke (1737-1831), and it was probably assembled in its present form by the artist and gamba player Thomas Cheeseman (1760-?1842). There are facsimiles of Items 2, 3, 4 and 5 in C. F. Abel, *Music for Solo Viola da Gamba*, CAP040 (2007).

GB-Lu, MS 944/2/1-3. Three late eighteenth-century folio manuscript part-books containing, in the earliest layer, trio sonatas by Maximilian Humble and anonymous, as well as (in the first violin and bass parts) a set of early eighteenth-century sonatas composed or arranged for viola da gamba and bass; the gamba part of 4:1 comes at the end of this sequence, though there is no corresponding part in the bass part-book; see P. Holman, 'A New Source of Bass Viol Music from Eighteenth-Century England', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), 81-99; Holman, *Life after Death*, 127-130, 226-227, 269-271. The part-books seem to have been owned in turn by John Williamson (1740-1815), a Canterbury surgeon; his son John (1790-1828), also a Canterbury surgeon; the organist Stephen Elvey (1805-1860); and his brother Sir George (1816-1893); they were given to London University Library in 1925 as part of the Elvey Collection.

US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871. An oblong large-quarto manuscript beginning with 29 pieces for unaccompanied viola da gamba (1:5-33) in Abel's autograph, as well as containing copies of Corelli's trio sonatas op. 1, nos. 1-2 and op. 3, nos. 1-5 in a different hand, and an anonymous 'Solo per il Cembalo' that appears to be in Abel's autograph and may be by him; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 203-204. The manuscript subsequently belonged to Joseph Coggins (1786-1866) and Edward Rimbault (1816-1876), passing into the Drexel Collection after the sale of Rimbault's library in 1877. There is a facsimile with an introduction by Walter Knape (Peer: Alamire, 1993), Facsimile series, 21, and another in *Music for Solo Viola da Gamba*, CAP040 (2007).

Collection of the late Edgar Hunt, manuscript parts of 6:1. They have not been available for study, but a note in the 'VIOLA (or Viola da gamba)' part of Hunt's edition (Schott, 10190) states: "The MS part (in the editor's possession) is headed "Viola da gamba" whereas in the title it is given as "Violetta". The part is written an

octave higher in the treble clef in accordance with Abel's custom when writing for the viola da gamba'.

Kulukundis collection⁸ of Dr. Elias Kulukundis, at present on deposit at the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig (D-LEb); see the introductions by Thomas Fritzsich to the modern editions, EG, G250, G253 and G254, his article in the present issue of VdGSJ, and Holman, *Life after Death*, 216-18 – the last written before the manuscript became available for study. Like the items in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, it belonged to Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke (1737-1831), and then among others to a J. Smith, who apparently acquired it in 1873; Edward Payne (1844-1904), acquired at Puttick and Simpson, 27 November 1882, lot 508; and Arthur Frederick Hill (1860-1939), acquired in 1905. It was sold again at Sotheby's, 26 May 1994, lot 97. The folio manuscript consists of ten sonatas for viola da gamba and bass (2:42-51) and four duets for gamba and violoncello (3:1-4), all in Abel's autograph except for 2:47-49, copied by an unknown hand.

The Ledenburg Collection is a collection of manuscripts and prints from the second half of the 18th century in the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Standort Osnabrück, Germany (State Archive of Lower Saxony in Osnabrück), D-OSa. The collection was discovered in the year 2015. It contains three hitherto unknown gamba sonatas by Abel (2:52–54), and other instrumental works which were attributed to Abel (5:3A–5:5A and 9:1A). A description with a work catalogue of the collection is available⁹.

The Maltzan Collection is a collection of manuscripts in the library of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland, PL-Pu. It was discovered in the year 2014. It contains 25 sonatas and 3 duets by Abel. 22 works of these have been unknown in this form prior to this discovery (2:55A–2:75). Among these are a sonata with a *Vivace* which also appears in the Drexel collection (2:75), but here it is with bass, and one sonata which was previously known as a sonata for cello (2:72). The other previously known works are from the *Six Easy Sonattas* and from the *Second Pembroke Collection*. Seven of the sonatas are autographs. The collection is currently best described in the preface of the first edition of these works¹⁰.

⁸ The Kulukundis collection includes many works by different composers. The 14 works from the Kulukundis collection which are listed in this catalogue can be summarized under the term 'Second Pembroke Collection'. G. v. Zadow, December 2017.

⁹ Günter von Zadow, *The Works for Viola da Gamba in the Ledenburg Collection*, VdGSJ Vol. 10, 2016. The article is also available on www.guentersberg.de.

¹⁰ Carl Friedrich Abel, *Duetto in G major for two Violas da Gamba... Content of the Maltzan Manuscript*, ed. Sonia Wronkowska (Heidelberg, 2016, Güntersberg G301).

Category 1: Unaccompanied Viola da Gamba

- 1:1** [Te]mpo di Menuet, G major, WKO 153.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 6v (Item 2).
Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.
Comment: slightly related to 1:24.



- 1:2** Tempo minuetto, D major, WKO 154.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 7 (Item 3).
Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.
Comment: related to 1:22.



- 1:3** Sonata, G major, WKO 155.
Sources: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 8-9 (Item 4); D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2, Item 1, pp. 6-7.
Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.
Comment: A later hand added 'Composed for the Lady Pembroke' on GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 8. D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2 was presumably copied directly or indirectly from GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697. 1:3/1 is related to 1:4.

[Ada]g[io]



Allegro



Menuet



- 1:4 Adagio, G major, not in WKO.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 9v (Item 5).
Edition: Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.
Comment: related to 1:3/1.



- 1:5 Allegro, D major, WKO 186.
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 1.
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 042.



- 1:6 [Adagio or Andante], D major, WKO 187.
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 2.
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:7 Tempo di Minuet, D major, WKO 188.
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 3.
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:8 Adagio, D major, WKO 189.
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 4.
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



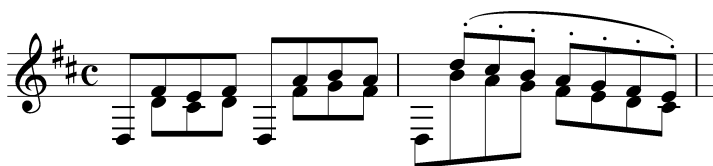
- 1:9 Vivace, D major, WKO 190.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 5.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



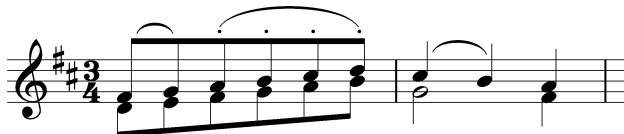
- 1:10 Andante, D major, WKO 191.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 6.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.
 Comment: The opening is related to Louis Caix d'Hervelois, Musette in D major for bass viol and continuo, *Troisième oeuvre* (Paris, 1731), 14-15.¹¹



- 1:11 [Allegro], D major, WKO 192.
 Sources: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 7.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.

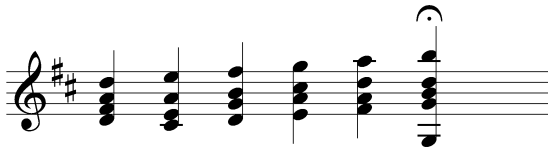


- 1:12 [Minuet], D major, WKO 193.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 8.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



¹¹ I am grateful to Richard Sutcliffe for drawing this to my attention.

- 1:13** [Flourish or Cadenza], D major, not in WKO.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 8.
 Editions: UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:14** [Prelude], D major, WKO 194.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 8.
 Editions: UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:15** [Allegro], D major, WKO 195.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 9.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:16** Fuga, D major, WKO 196.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 10-11.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.
 Comment: The subject is taken from Corelli's Concerto Grosso in D major, op. 6, no. 1.



- 1:17** [Adagio], D major, WKO 197.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 11.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:18** Allegro, D major, WKO 198.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 12-13.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:19** [Minuet], D major, WKO 199.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 13.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:20** [Flourish or Cadenza], D major, not in WKO.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 13.
 Edition: CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:21** Tempo di Minuet [en rondeau], D major, WKO 200.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 14.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:22** Tempo di Minuet, D major, WKO 201.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 15.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.
 Comment: related to 1:2.



- 1:23 [Minuet en rondeau], D major, WKO 202.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 16.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.
 Comment: concordant to the viola da gamba part in 2:75/3



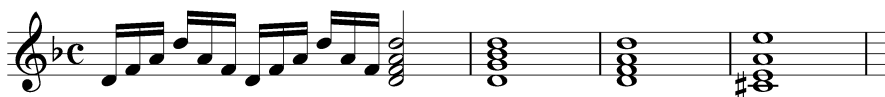
- 1:24 [Minuet with two variations], in D major, WKO 203, 204.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 17.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.
 Comment: slightly related to 1:1.



- 1:25 [Flourish or Cadenza], D major, not in WKO.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 17.
 Editions: UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:26 [Prelude], D minor, WKO 205.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 18.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:27 [Minuet], D minor, WKO 206
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 18.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



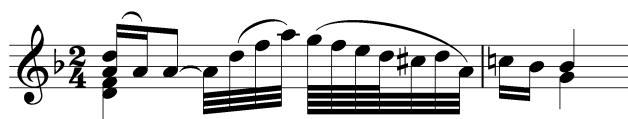
- 1:28** Allegro, D minor, WKO 207.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 19.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:29** [Allegro], D minor, WKO 208.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 20-21.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:30** Adagio, D minor, WKO 209.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 22.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:31** Tempo di Minuet, D major, WKO 210.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 23.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:32** Allegretto, A major, WKO 211.
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 24-25.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



Category 2: Viola da Gamba and Bass/Continuo

- 2:1 Sonata, C major, WKO 141.
Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 1, pp. 2–5.
Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 39; EG, G062, G078, G501.

Vivace



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:2 Sonata, A major, WKO 142.
Sources: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 2, pp. 6–9; Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836
pp. 23–28.
Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 39; EG, G062, G078, G501.

Allegro



Siciliano



Tempo di Minueto



- 2:3 Sonata, D major, WKO 143.
 Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 3, pp. 10–12.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 39; EG, G062, G078, G501.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:4 Sonata, G major, WKO 144.
 Sources: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 4, pp. 13–16; Maltzan Collection
 PL-Pu 7836 pp. 97–102.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 40; EG, G063, G079, G501.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:5** Sonata, A major, WKO 145.
 Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 5, pp. 17–20;
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 40; EG, G063, G079, G501.
 Comment: 2:5/2 is concordant with 2:61A/2; 2:5/3 is concordant with
 2:61A/3.

Allegro



Andante



Minuetto



- 2:6** Sonata, E minor, WKO 146.
 Sources: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 6, pp. 21–24; Maltzan Collection
 PL-Pu 7836 pp. 51–56.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 40; EG, G063, G079, G501.

Moderato



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:7 Sonata, E minor, WKO 150.
Sources: D-B, KHM 25a; D-B, Mus. Ms. 263; D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2, Item 4.
Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, ES1373; EG, G090.

Siciliano



Allegro



Presto



- 2:8 Sonata, G major, WKO 149.
Sources: D-B, KHM 25b; D-B, Slg. Klg. 2, Item 4.
Editions: Knape, xvi; EG, G090.
Comment: The incipit of 2:8/1 appears in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1762 as an anonymous work for viola.¹²

Adagio



Allegro



Allegro ma non presto



¹² *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue*, ed. Barry S. Brook (New York, 1966) p. 72.

- 2:9** Sonata, G major, WKO 152.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 3-6 (Item 1).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015; EG, G188.

[A]llegretto



Adagio



[A]llegro



- 2:10** Sonata, C major, WKO 151.
 Sources: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 10v-13 (Item 6, no. 1); D-B, Mus. Ms. 263; D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2., Item 1, pp. 1-5.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.
 Comment: The Cantabile, arranged for gamba, violin and violoncello probably by Johannes Klingenberg, also appears in the D-B, Mus. MS 253/10 version of 6:1. The D-B manuscripts were presumably copied directly or indirectly from GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697.

Allegro



Cantabile



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:11** Sonata, D major, WKO 156.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 13v-15 (Item 6, no. 2).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Minuetto



- 2:12** Sonata, G major, WKO 157.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 15v-17 (Item 6, no. 3).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Moderato



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:13** Sonata, D major, WKO 158.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 17v-19 (Item 6, no. 4).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Moderato



Minuetto



- 2:14** Sonata, G major, WKO 159.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 19v-21 (Item 6, no. 5).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Minuetto



- 2:15** Sonata, D major, WKO 160.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 21v-23 (Item 6, no. 6).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Minuetto



- 2:16** Sonata, D major, WKO 161.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 23v-25 (Item 6, no. 7).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



[Minuet]



- 2:17** Sonata, C major, WKO 162.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 25v-27 (Item 6, no. 8).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Vivace



- 2:18** Sonata, A major, WKO 163.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 27v-29 (Item 6, no. 9).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:19** Sonata, A major, WKO 164.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 29v-31 (Item 6, no. 10).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Minuetto



- 2:20** Sonata, D major, WKO 165.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 31v-34 (Item 6, no. 11).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Adagio



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:21** Sonata, D major, WKO 166.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 34v-36 (Item 6, no. 12).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Andante



Minuetto



- 2:22** Tempo di Minuetto, C major, not in WKO.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 37.
 Edition: PRB, CL014.
 Comment: treated as the third movement of 2:21 in PRB, CL014, but the discrepancy of keys makes this unlikely.



- 2:23** Sonata, G major, WKO 167.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 37v-38v (Item 6, no. 13).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:24** Tempo di Minuetto, D major, not in WKO.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 39.
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.
 Comment: treated as the third movement of 2:23 in Knape, xvi and PRB, CL013. This is unlikely unless a *da capo* to 2:23/2 is intended, though it is not indicated in the manuscript.



- 2:25** Sonata, D major, WKO 168.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 39v-42 (Item 6, no. 14).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Allegro



Minuetto



Minuetto



- 2:26** Sonata, D major, WKO 169.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 42v-44 (Item 6, no. 15).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Minuetto



Allegretto



- 2:27** Sonata, C major, WKO 170.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 45v-48 (Item 7, no. 1).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Moderato



Andantino



Allegro



- 2:28** Sonata, G major, WKO 171.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 48v-51 (Item 7, no. 2).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Vivace



Cantabile



Vivace



- 2:29** Sonata, D major, WKO 172.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 51v-54 (Item 7, no. 3).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.
Comment: The second movement is wrongly given in the source with only two sharps.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:30** Sonata, A major, WKO 173.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 54v-57 (Item 7, no. 4).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Cantabile



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:31 Sonata, G major, WKO 174.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 57v-60 (Item 7, no. 5).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Moderato



Cantabile



Vivace



- 2:32 Sonata, C major, WKO 175.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 60v-63 (Item 7, no. 6).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Adaggio



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:33** Sonata, A major, WKO 176.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 63v-66 (Item 7, no. 7).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Andantino



Allegro



- 2:34** Sonata, A major, WKO 177.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 66v-69 (Item 7, no. 8).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Andante



Allegro



- 2:35** Sonata, G major, WKO 178.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 69v-71 (Item 7, no. 9).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:36 Sonata, A major, WKO 179.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 71v-73 (Item 7, no. 10).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Andante



Minuetto



- 2:37 Sonata, D major, WKO 180.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 73v-75 (Item 7, no. 11).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Siciliano



Minuetto



- 2:38** Sonata, D major, WKO 181.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 75v-77 (Item 7, no. 12).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Minuetto [and two variations]



- 2:39** Sonata, G major, WKO 182.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 77v-79 (Item 7, no. 13).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Adaggio



Minuet



- 2:40** Sonata, A major, WKO 183.
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 79v-81 (Item 7, no. 14).
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Adaggio



Minuetto



- 2:41 Sonata, C major, WKO 184.
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 81v-83 (Item 7, no. 15).
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Moderato



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:42 Sonata, E major, not in WKO.
Source: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 3
(autograph).
Edition: EG, G253

Moderato



Adagio



Tempo di Menuet



- 2:43** Sonata, E \flat major, not in WKO.
Source: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 4
(autograph).
Edition: EG, G253.

Vivace



Adagio



Menuet



- 2:44** Sonata, G minor, not in WKO.
Source: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 5
(autograph).
Edition: EG, G253.

Modorato



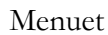
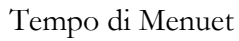
Adagio



Tempo di Menuet



Vivace



Moderato



Adagio



Men[uet]



2:48 Sonata, G major, not in WKO.

Source: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 9.

Edition: EG, G254.

Allegro



Adagio



Tempo di Menuetto



2:49 Sonata, D major, not in WKO.

Source: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 10.

Edition: EG, G254.

Modorato



Adagio



Men[uet]



- 2:50** Sonata, D major, not in WKO.
 Sources: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 13
 (autograph); Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 149–154
 (autograph).
 Editions: EG, G254, G307
 Comment: cadenza in 2:50/2.

Allegro



Adagio



Allegretto



- 2:51** Sonata, A major, not in WKO.
 Source: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 14
 (autograph).
 Edition: EG, G254.
 Comment: 2:51/3 is concordant with cello sonata WKO 148
 (Edition: EG, G107).

Moderato



Adagio



Tempo di Menuet



2:52 Sonata, G major, not in WKO.
 Source: Ledenburg Collection D-OSa Dep 115b Akz. 2000/002
 Nr. 527.11.
 Edition: EG, G282.

Adagio



Allegro



Vivace



2:53 Sonata, A major, not in WKO.
 Source: Ledenburg Collection D-OSa Dep 115b Akz. 2000/002
 Nr. 527.12.
 Edition: EG, G282.

Adagio



Allegro assai



Vivace



2:54 Sonata, B \flat major, not in WKO.
 Source: Ledenburg Collection D-OSa Dep 115b Akz. 2000/002
 Nr. 527.13.
 Edition: EG, G282.

Adagio



Allegro



Allegro



2:55A Sonata, C minor, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 9–16.
 Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
 Edition: EG, G302.

Moderato



Adagio



Vivace



2:56A Sonata, G minor, not in WKO.
Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 17–22.
Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
Edition: EG, G302.

Allegro



Adagio



Tempo di Minuet



2:57A Sonata, A minor, not in WKO.
Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 29–38.
Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
Edition: EG, G302.

Allegro



Adagio



Allegro



2:58A Sonata, G major, not in WKO.
Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 39–44.
Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
Edition: EG, G303.

Moderato



Andante



Menuetto



2:59A Sonata, D major, not in WKO.
Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 45–50.
Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
Edition: EG, G303.

Moderato



Adagio



Vivace



2:60A Sonata Gamba, C minor, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 57–62.
 Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
 Edition: EG, G303.

Allegro



Adagio



Vivace



2:61A Sonata, A major, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 63–66.
 Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
 Edition: EG, G303.
 Comment: 2:61A/2 is concordant with 2:5/2; 2:61A/3 is concordant
 with 2:5/3.

Vivace



Andante



Menuett



Vivace



Moderato



The first staff of music is in 3/4 time, key of B-flat major (two flats). It contains a sequence of notes: a half note B-flat, a quarter note A-flat, a half note G, a quarter note F, a half note E, a quarter note D, a half note C, and a quarter note B-flat. The notes are grouped with slurs: B-flat and A-flat, G and F, E and D, and C and B-flat.

2:64A Sonata, E major, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 79–84.
 Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
 Edition: EG, G304.
 Comment: autograph cadenza in 2:64A/2.

Un poco Vivace



Adagio



Vivace



2:65A Sonata, F major, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 85–90.
 Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
 Edition: EG, G305.

Allegro Moderato



Adagio



Vivace



- 2:66A** Sonata, B♭ major, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 91–96.
 Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
 Edition: EG, G305.

Moderato



Adagio



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:67** Sonata, D major, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 111–116 (autograph).
 Edition: EG, G305.
 Comment: 2:67/3 includes three variations.

Moderato



Adagio



Andantino



2:68A Sonata, G major, not in WKO.
Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 117–122.
Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska.
Edition: EG, G306.
Comment: 2:68A/3 includes three variations.

Moderato



Adagio



Tempo di Menuet



2:69 Sonata, C major, not in WKO.
Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 123–128 (autograph).
Edition: EG, G306.

Moderato



Adagio



Allegretto



- 2:70** Sonata, F major, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 137–142 (autograph).
 Edition: EG, G306.
 Comment: cadenza in 2:70/2.

Modorato



Adagio



Allegretto



- 2:71** Sonata, B♭ major, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 143–148 (autograph).
 Edition: EG, G307.
 Comment: cadenza in 2:71/2.

Modorato



Adagio



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:72** Sonata, G major, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 155–160.
 Edition: EG, G307.
 Comment: concordant with cello sonata WKO 147
 (Edition: EG, G107).
 Comment: cadenza in 2:72/2.

Moderato



Adagio



Rondeau



- 2:73** Sonata, D major, not in WKO.
 Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 161–168 (autograph).
 Edition: EG, G308.
 Comment: Cadenza in 2:73/2.

Modarato



Adagio



Tempo di Minuet



- 2:74** Sonata, C major, not in WKO.
Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 169–171 (autograph).
Edition: EG, G308.
Comment: fragment; the third movement is probably missing.

Modorato



Adagio



- 2:75** Sonata, D major, not in WKO.
Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7457.
Edition: EG, G308.
Comment: The viola da gamba part in 2:75/3 is concordant with 1:23.

Un poco Vivace



Adagio



Vivace



Category 3:
Viola da Gamba and Violoncello or two Violas da Gamba

- 3:1** Duetto for viola da gamba and violoncello, D major, not in WKO.
Sources: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 1
(autograph); Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 129–132.
Editions: EG, G250, G251, G252.

Allegro



Rondou, Tempo di Menuet



- 3:2** Duetto for viola da gamba and violoncello, D major, not in WKO.
Sources: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 2
(autograph); Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 133–136.
Edition: EG, G250, G251, G252.

Allegro



Adagio



Tempo di Menuet



- 3:3** Duetto for viola da gamba and violoncello, G major, not in WKO.
 Source: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 11
 (autograph).
 Editions: EG, G250, G251, G252.

Poco allegro



Un poco adagio



Rondau, Allegretto



- 3:4** Duetto for viola da gamba and violoncello, G major, not in WKO.
 Source: Second Pembroke Collection D-LEb Kulukundis I.A139, no. 12
 (autograph).
 Edition: EG, G250, G251, G252.

Un poco allegro



Andante



Tempo di Minuet



3:5A Duetto for two violas da gamba, G major, not in WKO.
Source: Maltzan Collection PL-Pu 7836 pp. 1–8.
Attribution: Sonia Wronkowska
Edition: EG, G301.

Vivace



Siciliano



Tempo di Minuet



Category 4: Viola da Gamba and ?Harpischord

- 4:1** [Sonata], C major, not in WKO.
Source: GB-Lu, MS 944/2/1-3, part 1, pp. 30-31.
Edition: EG, G330.
Comment: Only the gamba part survives, entitled 'F. Abel per il Viol di Gambo', though its style suggests that it comes from an accompanied sonata with obbligato harpsichord rather than one for gamba and bass; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 226-227.

[Allegro]



[Andante]



[Minuet]



Category 5: Flute/Violin, Viola da Gamba and Bass/Continuo

5:1 Trio for flute, viola da gamba, and basso, F major, not in WKO.

Source: *Les Suites des trios premières*, pp. 8-9 in each part, no. 4.

Edition: none.

Comment: Only the gamba and figured bass parts survive, in a publication said to be '*Pour le VIOLON, VIOLONCELLO, et BASSO*'. From the documents relating to Abel's lawsuit against Longman, Lukey and Co. in 1773 we know that it was written 'about 10 years ago' (i.e. around 1763) and was originally composed 'for a Flute, Viol di gamba and a Bass'; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 224-226.

Moderato



Andante



Menuetto



5:2 Trio for flute, viola da gamba, and basso, G major, not in WKO.

Sonata: *Les Suites des trios premières*, pp. 9-10 in each part, no. 5.

Edition: none.

Comment: Only the gamba and figured bass parts survive, in a publication said to be '*Pour le VIOLON, VIOLONCELLO, et BASSO*'. From the documents relating to Abel's lawsuit against Longman, Lukey and Co. in 1773 we know that it was written 'about 10 years ago' (i.e. around 1763) and was originally composed 'for a Flute, Viol di gamba and a Bass'; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 224-226.

Allegro



Andante



Menuetto



- 5:3A** Trio for violin, viola da gamba, and basso, C major, not in WKO.
Trio per violino violada jamba e violoncello.
 Source: Ledenburg Collection D-OSa Dep 115b Akz. 2000/002 Nr. 524.
 Attribution: Thomas Fritzscht.
 Edition: EG, G295.

Poco allegro



Siciliano



Tempo di Minuetto



- 5:4A** Trio for violino, viola da gamba, and basso, G major, not in WKO.
Trio per violino – viola da Gamba é Basso.
 Source: Ledenburg Collection D-OSa Dep 115b Akz. 2000/002
 Nr. 529.7.
 Attribution: Thomas Fritzscht.
 Edition: EG, G295.

Allegro ma non troppo



Andantino



Tempo di Minuetto



Category 6: Flute, Violin, Viola da Gamba and Violoncello

6:1 Quartet, G major, WKO 227.

Sources: manuscript in the possession of the late Edgar Hunt; D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2, Item 2; D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10.

Editions: Schott, 10190; PRB, CL007; EG, G199.

Comment: The Edgar Hunt and D-B manuscripts preserve independent versions, published respectively by Schott and PRB; the one in D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2 may derive from a manuscript, now lost, that was offered for sale in Hamburg in 1783 as '*Abel*, I Quatuor. Viola da Gamba Fl. Violin & Violoncel G dur'.¹³ In addition, the version in D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10 has a central 'Cantabile' described as an insertion ('Einlage'); it is an arrangement, possibly made by Johann Klingenberg, of 2:10/2; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 227-228. The two-movement version is found as the outer movements of a flute quartet in CZ-Pnm, XXII A7, while the Allegretto also serves as the finale of the string quartet op. 12, no. 6, WKO 72/3. EG, G199 is a critical edition taking account of all the sources.

Allegro Moderato



Cantabile: see 2:10/2

Allegretto



¹³ C. F. Cramer, *Magazin der Musik*, i/I (Hamburg, 1783), 283.

Category 7: Viola da Gamba, Violin, Viola, Violoncello

- 7:1** Quarteto N: 1, A major, not in WKO.
 Source: manuscript parts at A-LA.
 Edition: none.
 Comment: an arrangement of no. 5 of Abel's *Six Quartettos*, op. 8, WKO 65, with the gamba taking the first violin part down the octave. The part is written in the alto clef, which suggests that the arrangement was not made by Abel himself.

Un poco Vivace



Adagio ma non Troppo



Allegro assai



- 7:2** Quarteto N. 3, B♭ major, not in WKO.
 Source: manuscript parts at A-LA.
 Edition: none.
 Comment: an arrangement of no. 2 of Abel's *Six Quartettos*, op. 8, WKO 62, with the gamba taking the first violin part down the octave. The part is written in the alto clef, which suggests that the arrangement was not made by Abel himself.

Allegro con Spirito



Adagio



Tempo di Menueto

Vdg

Category 8:

Soprano, Viola da Gamba, Two Violins, Viola and Bass/Continuo

- 8:1** 'Frena le belle lagrime', B \flat major, not in WKO.
Source: *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Sifari*, vol. 1, pp. 2-7.
Edition: Fretwork, FE2.

Cantabile



Category 9: Viola da Gamba Concertos

- 9:1A** Concerto, A major, not in WKO.
CONCERTO Violo de Gambo.
Source: Ledenburg Collection D-OSa Dep 115b Akz. 2000/002 Nr. 733.
Attribution: Thomas Fritzscht.
Edition: EG, G328
Comment: Fragment; only the anonymous viola da gamba part survived.
This part includes the bass part of the tutti sections.

Allegro moderato



Adagio



Allegro



Appendix 1: Lost or Unidentified Works

Abel must have composed much more viola da gamba music than has survived. He came to England in the winter of 1758-1759 at the age of 35 or 36, having been employed at the Dresden court for about a decade, and yet no gamba music of his survives from that period, with the possible exception of his early Concerto in B♭ major, WKO 52.¹⁴ It survives in a set of parts, D-B, Mus. Ms. 252/10, with the solo part labelled 'Violoncello Concertato', though the writing is significantly different from Abel's other solo violoncello music, such as the Duet in D major, WKO 228:¹⁵ it is relatively simple and stays in the alto-tenor register, as in Abel's authentic gamba music, only descending to *A*. Abel is known to have composed gamba concertos: a manuscript of 'Mr. Abel's last solos and concertos, for the viola de gambo' was lot 37 in the first day of the sale of his effects after his death in 1787.¹⁶ He is also known to have played gamba concertos, presumably of his own composition, in a number of London concerts.¹⁷

Much also must be lost in other genres. Abel was at the centre of London concert life for 25 years, and is known to have participated in more than 400 public concerts during that time, being advertised as playing 'A Solo on the Viola da Gamba' more than 60 times.¹⁸ The advertised concerts must be only a fraction of the total: announcements for the Bach-Abel concerts never list particular pieces, doubtless many appearances went unrecorded, and his public appearances might well have been equalled by those in private concerts at court and in the houses of the aristocracy. Thus, at a time when novelty was increasingly valued in London's concert life, Abel would have needed a constant supply of new 'solos'; I have argued that these were sonatas for gamba and bass rather than unaccompanied pieces, which seem to have been used for performances in private.¹⁹ Most of Abel's surviving gamba sonatas come from manuscripts once owned by Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke, and seem to have been composed for teaching purposes.²⁰ Of the hundreds he must have composed for his own use, on presumably a higher technical level, we only have the two 'Prussian' sonatas, 2:7 and 2:8, and possibly 2:9, 2:10, and some or all of the 10 sonatas in the part-autograph manuscript in a Kulukundis collection, 2:42-51.²¹ Evidence of the existence of lost sonatas or solos

¹⁴ Modern editions: C. F. Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, ix. 91-110; idem, *Konzert B-dur für Violoncello (Gambe), Streicher und Continuo*, ed. H. Lomnitzer (Wolfenbüttel, 1961). See also Holman, *Life after Death*, 200-201.

¹⁵ Modern editions: C. F. Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xvi. 225-231; idem, *A Duetto for two Violoncellos*, ed. G. and L. von Zadow, introduction by P. Holman (Heidelberg, 2008, Güntersberg G141).

¹⁶ S. Roe, 'The Sale Catalogue of Carl Friedrich Abel (1787)', in *Music and the Book Trade from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (London, 2008), 105-143, at 131.

¹⁷ Holman, *Life after Death*, 185-187.

¹⁸ Ibid. 177-179.

¹⁹ Ibid. 179-183.

²⁰ Ibid. 209-218.

²¹ With the recently discovered works in the *Ledenburg* and the *Maltzan* collections, many of which place a high demand on the player or are even virtuosic, we now have significantly more compositions of this genre. G. von Zadow, December 2017.

is provided by the manuscript of 'last solos and concertos, for the viola da gambo' in the sale catalogue of his effects, already mentioned, and a 1794 newspaper advertisement by the London booksellers Evan and Thomas Williams, who offered 'Eighteen Solos, in manuscript, by Abel, for the Viola da Gamba, written by himself, with the appoggiaturas and graces to the adagios, as he played them', and 'Ten Solos, in manuscript, by Abel, of his latest compositions, and which he played himself at the Hanover-square Concerts'.²²

There is evidence of missing gamba music in two other genres. The 1794 advertisement also offered for sale 'TEN Quartettos, in score, for a Viola da Gamba, Flute, Violin, and Violoncello in Abel's handwriting' and 'Twenty-four Trios, in score, for a Viola da Gamba, Violin, and Violoncello, by Abel, and in his own handwriting'. Of these, we only have the Quartet in G major 6:1, though it is likely that others survive as conventional flute quartets, and trios for violin, violoncello and bass. Two flute quartets by Abel, in F major WKO 225 and D major WKO 226, were published in *Six Quartettos for a German Flute, Violin, a Tenor, and Bass* (London, 1776),²³ and there are manuscript copies of others, in A-HE, V1c1; CZ-Pnm, XXII A7, A10-12; D-B, Mus. Ms. 250/10; and DK-Kk, mu. 6212.1640 and 6212.1642,²⁴ most of which are variant versions of Abel's *Second Set of Six Quartettos*, op. 12 (London, 1775).²⁵ Similarly, the violoncello parts of *Six Sonatas for a Violin, a Violoncello, & Base, with a Thorough Base for the Harpsichord*, op. 9 are likely to have been originally written for gamba,²⁶ particularly since we have seen that 5:1 and 5:2 were published as trios for violin, violoncello and bass. They are eminently suitable for the gamba, having the overall range *A-d''*, lying mostly in the alto-tenor register, and having no 'cello-like chords. More generally, almost all of Abel's chamber music could be considered as suitable for the gamba, since there is evidence that he played the viola parts of chamber music in concerts at court,²⁷ and his practice of writing gamba music in the treble clef meant that he (and others accustomed to playing his gamba music now and then) could read any violin or flute part at the lower octave.

²² *The Morning Herald*, 3 April 1794.

²³ Modern edition: Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xvi. 238-256.

²⁴ For full details, see *RISM Series A/II: Music Manuscripts after 1600* <<http://0-web.ebscohost.com>>.

²⁵ Modern edition: Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xi-xii.

²⁶ Modern edition: Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xiii; idem, *Six Sonatas op. 9 for violin, violoncello/viola da gamba, and basso continuo*, ed. G. and L. von Zadow, introduction by P. Holman (Heidelberg, 2011, Güntersberg G216)

²⁷ Holman, *Life after Death*, 187-191.

REVIEWS

Michael Fleming and John Bryan, *Early English Viols. Instruments, Makers and Music* (Routledge, 2016) ISBN: 978-1-4724-6854-3; price £110; also available as an E-book, £35-99.

Michael Fleming and John Bryan's book on the English viol in the 16th century covers the period from 1506-1642 and according to the author

has the twin aims of understanding the past and enabling new refinement in the construction of instruments for us to use. It is part archaeology, part futurology.

Apart from the introductory lists, acknowledgements and notes to reader, the book consists of eight thematically distinct but interconnected chapters each of which addresses a different aspect or area of research. Bound in hardback, with colour plates and tables throughout in total it stretches to 373 pages and measures a very pleasing 10" x 7" (250mm x 180mm).

The first chapter lays out the authors own methodology for approaching the subject. Herein lies the core rationale of the research. One of the issues considered is the rarity of early viols and the reliability of information gleaned from such a small group of surviving instruments. All evidence is presented as being as close to original as possible. In a later chapters Fleming will re-examine existing 'truths' using the same criteria to show how easy we can make assumptions and thus build upon poor research. Undoing accepted 'truths' is unfortunately far harder than creating from new.

The evidence of the repertory, is the self-explanatory title of chapter two, written by John Bryan. The lack of surviving viols and the compromised condition of many that have has led Bryan to examine the repertory for the Tudor viol to glean insight into the instruments' characteristics. Was there any concept of absolute pitch? Were bridges moved to facilitate differing pitch levels? He considers the close relationship between viol and voice in the 1500's and the later divergence from 1600; the development of the bass as a virtuosic instrument; the use of viols in the broken consort; the study of viol parts and he offers conclusions concerning the ways in which composers and arrangers may have used viols in performance; the characteristics of the early English viol as suggested by its music. Bryan concludes that we owe it to the creators of the repertory to experiment with a greater range of types, sizes and varieties of viol and to resist the temptation of the modern world of standardisation.

Fleming puts forward strong views about the difficulties of attribution of extant viols in chapter three. In doing so Fleming has updated evidence from his earlier PhD research. Can labels supply incontrovertible evidence? How much of what we see today is actually original either through damage, repair, adaptation or total remaking? The evidence can be spurious and/or misleading

as almost no English viol retains all major original parts in an unaltered state. Terms such as treble, tenor etc. can be misleading!

Construction methods are discussed, maker's tool marks, instrument decoration and individual components such as bass bar, soundpost and bridge. There are close studies of elements within individual viols and the cross-referencing of these elements makes for fascinating reading. Fleming argues that the overall impression is that extant early English viols make for unreliable witness and he lays out his evidence to support this. When dealing with extreme reusing of wood and transformation of instruments he communicates a genuine sense of loss. We look to the surviving viols for guidance in recreating the instruments and the sounds, but we cannot afford to ignore the subsequent intervention.

Images of the early viol in England are extremely rare. Fleming exhausts all possible sources of imagery, not just paintings and prints but also in architecture where musical instruments are depicted in wooden carvings, decorative plasterwork, painted ceilings and walls or in decorative fabrics. The few paintings containing early English viols are examined and anomalies contained within those images are highlighted. Were English viol makers influenced by imported images from Europe?

Fleming concludes that images provide some evidence of the viol's appearance, but such evidence is constrained. He does reach certain general conclusions regarding string length, bridge positioning and lack of a recognisable body/string-length proportion. Most interesting is the conclusion that no particular body shape stands out as 'typical'.

Chapters five to seven deal with the trade, the makers themselves, the materials and physical resources available to them. Where were musical instrument makers placed in society? What was the extent of their training? How were they organised (or not), and what was the role of the guilds in protection of trades? He considers the importance of how the structure of English society dictated the level at which the trades existed and the levels of literacy within the trades.

The identification of makers through repair records can be confusing as they rarely refer to the person doing the work. The spelling of names, multiples of the same name within families makes identification extremely difficult. Instrument makers were not confined to their own trade but were versatile and followed other monetary paths. The question as to whether makers were performers is asked. Was there development in style and technique in early English viol makers through copying of their predecessors?

What was happening outside of London in places such as Oxford, Cambridge, York, Norwich, Maidstone; a whole raft of unknown and relatively unknown makers with various connections through apprenticeships, are winkled out

from parish records, apprenticeship enrolments etc. There is an interesting footnote where Fleming remarks that the research for this book has unearthed more information about obscure instrument makers than can be accommodated within this book, the inference being that there is more to follow with a wider geographical coverage. It is clear, he says, that viols were produced much more widely than by the best-documented makers but it is probable that most people who made viols will never be identified. However, it can be argued that this is exactly the kind of information that the book should aim to uncover in order to provide a clearer picture of how wide the market is. It comes as a disappointment that the author justifies excluding appendices that provide this information.

The supply and control of the timber trade and how various livery companies exercised rules regarding purchase of materials is looked at in some detail. John Evelyn writes that black cherry was prized for necks...the best soundboard wood was known as 'Cullin Cleft' –Cologne Cleft. The same ambiguities in timber nomenclature have beset those researching instruments even to this day: the terms spruce, pine, fir, seem to be interchangeable. Instrument fittings such as fingerboard, tailpiece, bridge etc and a certain Mr. Bland who supplied pegs to the trade are documented. All of this is intriguing to the viol maker, and to the maker of any bowed instrument.

Woodmongers and dealboard merchants with Brazilwood were imported through Southampton as early as 1439 – this must be 1539 surely? Brazil wasn't colonised by the Portuguese until c.1500? Spindle wood for bows is mentioned, as is glue, bone, ivory, metal, strings and stringmakers - even rosin gets a mention....Tools and workshop inventories, the emergence of tool makers (edge tools) and the trade in tools: there is a lot to absorb in these pages and possibly of greatest interest to the maker with an interest in the practical history of the trade.

The ultimate goal of researching the early English viol is to bring our understanding a little closer to what the past looked like. The sheer amount of accumulated and diverse evidential strands followed in this book contributes towards this goal, but there is still a great deal of work to do, and other paths to follow. The book delights and disappoints in equal measure. The author is frustrated in attempting to firmly define the English viol within the chosen period through a basic lack of available evidence. There is clarification of some areas, myths have been scotched but there remain many unanswered questions. If you make or play viols you should read it.

Philips and Dering Consort Music, Edited by David J. Smith, *Musica Britannica* volume 101; Stainer and Bell, London, 2016, £115.00

Sets of parts:

Consort Music of Three and Four Parts

Ref. Y343; £20.00

Consort Music of Five Parts

Ref. Y344; £45.00

Consort Music of Six Parts

Ref. Y345; £35.00

David J. Smith's excellent volume in the *Musica Britannica* series brings together the consort music of two English Catholic composers. Both composers worked abroad and published vocal music for their Catholic patrons. The older of the two composers, Peter Philips (1560/61–1628) left England in 1582 and, after spending three years at the English College in Rome and a period teaching in Antwerp, became organist at the archducal court in Brussels, where he remained until his death. Richard Dering (c.1580–1630), after study in England (he supplicated for his Bachelor of Music at Oxford in 1610), also travelled to Italy where he became a Catholic. By 1617 he had joined Philips and the English recusant communities in Brussels and become organist to the Benedictine nuns of the Convent of Our Lady of the Assumption. In 1625 Dering returned to England, quite possibly in the train of Henrietta Maria, and became one of the 'lutes, viols and voices' at the court as well as organist to Queen Henrietta Maria's Roman Catholic chapel. This volume of music completes the availability of Dering's works in modern scholarly publications.

The Continental context for both Philips and Dering is important and there was no better-qualified editor than David Smith to undertake the complex task of assessing the sources of Philips' and Dering's consort music. Smith is also the editor of a *Musica Britannica* volume of Peter Philips' keyboard music (volume 75, 1999) and author of an important article concerning 'The Interconnection of Religious, Social and Musical Networks: Creating a Context for the Keyboard Music of Peter Philips and its Dissemination' (in *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips' 450th Anniversary*, ed. David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor, Farnham, 2013, pp. 12–30). The most important sources for Philips' consort music are the companion volumes London, British Library Egerton MS 3665 and New York Public Library Drexel MS 4302, anthologies of motets, madrigals, villanellas and instrumental works copied in the early seventeenth century by the recusant Francis Tregian the younger (c.1574–1617). Smith has no truck with the recent questioning of Tregian's

contribution to these manuscripts (correctly in my opinion) and, rather, shows specific links between Tregian and Philips. Tregian was educated on the Continent and in 1592 followed Phillips to Rome where Cardinal Allen employed him as his secretary. Smith shows that, after James I came to the throne in 1603, Tregian was able to return to England and, on his way back, passed through Brussels where he would undoubtedly have had contact with Philips. This, and the likelihood that Philips sent Tregian his music after he had returned to England, helps explain why Tregian's manuscripts provide the only surviving texts for many of Philips' consort works.

Philips' dances are important in the history of music as, together with those of his English contemporaries, they were popular on the Continent. Before this England imported its dance music from the Continent and, as Peter Holman has demonstrated, members of the court instrumental consorts were mainly from abroad, but with Philips having established himself in exile in the Netherlands, and soon to be followed by others such as John Bull and Richard Dering, as well as composers such as William Brade and Thomas Simpson working in Germany, the tables turned and English music was widely disseminated on the Continent. Regardless of its historical importance, this is excellent music and well worth performing – it is good to have it in a scholarly edition together with easily-available performing parts.

The majority of Philips' music in the volume is stylized dance music with just a couple of six-part Fantasias included (which are actually textless versions of two madrigals from his *Secondo Libro*, 1603); but, as Smith points out, by Dering's generation the focus returned to the Fantasia and, although the volumes contains the early dances by Dering, his five and six-part fantasias dominate. Smith also attributes three six-part fantasias and two six-part In Nomines to Dering that are anonymously transmitted in the sources; these works are stylistically very similar to Dering's attributed Fantasias and Smith's reasoning for the attributions, based on musical style and positions in the sources, is convincing. Dering's fantasias are found in numerous sources (the five-part pieces were particularly popular) and Smith reviews the sources in a systematic and informative section entitled 'Centres of Viol Playing in Seventeenth-Century England' and in the extensive and detailed Notes on the Sources. Tregian's British Library Egerton MS 3665 is the earliest source of Dering's five-part fantasias, but the most comprehensive collection of his consort music is to be found in London, British Library Additional MSS 39550–54, which was therefore used as the primary source for Dering's fantasias. This well-known set of five partbook (lacking the *Sextus* book), together with a complementary source London, Royal College of Music MS 1145 (three partbooks from an original set of five, which contain the Dering dances) were copied under the direction of Sir Nicholas Le Strange, baronet (1603–55). British Library Additional MSS 39550–54 are, as Smith

demonstrates, actually a seventeenth-century critical edition: the manuscripts were checked against at least 21 other sources belonging to friends and contacts of Sir Nicholas – a demonstration, if ever there was, of the strength of the consort music tradition in England in the early seventeenth century – and six sources were used for the Dering pieces; whilst none of these sources (identified by annotations) apparently survive, Smith usefully records the variant readings in his critical commentary in order that each can be considered a source in its own right. This attention to details is typical of the volume.

A number of dances by Dering are incomplete in the surviving source and have had their outer parts reconstructed by the editor. The recomposed parts are exemplary and reveal the editor's deep understanding of the style. The standard of editing and presentation is of the highest quality (as we would expect from a *Musica Britannica* volume) and David Smith is to be congratulated by scholars and performers alike for presenting us with consort music of such quality.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

FRANÇOIS-PIERRE GOY was born in Troyes (France) in 1960. Since 1995 he has been a librarian at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), at first at the Audiovisual department, then at the Music department, where he is currently in charge of the 16th to 18th-century collections. Since 2013, he has been a member of the IReMus (Institut de recherche en musicologie, formerly IRPMF, Institut de recherche sur le patrimoine musical français), a research unit of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique. His musicological research focuses on the sources of music for plucked strings and for viol, mainly of the seventeenth century, including the lives of the composers and other persons involved in those sources, as well as on the exchanges between the various instrumental and vocal repertoires through transcription or parody. Between 1986 and 1992 he took part in the edition of several volumes of the *Corpus des luthistes français* (Éditions du CNRS). Then he was one of the contributors to the catalogue *Sources musicales en tablature*, directed by Christian Meyer. Beside various articles and editions of sources and works in his favourite research fields, he has published the catalogue of the early music holdings of the French region of Champagne-Ardenne in the *Patrimoine musical régional* series. With Andreas Schlegel, he is co-author of *Accords nouveaux* (<http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch>), a website devoted to the lute music in ‘accords extraordinaires’.

JONATHAN DUNFORD has lived in Paris since 1985, where he has been a leading figure in bringing solo seventeenth century music for unaccompanied bass viol back to public attention. He performs frequently not only as a soloist, but with many groups, including ‘A 2 Violes Esgales’, which he founded with the violist Sylvia Abramowicz, and the ensemble ‘Oiseau de Feu’ (arab and baroque music) directed by Gerard Kurkdjian. He has made many prestigious recordings on the viol for Adès- Universal Music Classics.

Besides his activity as a performer, Jonathan is an avid researcher. He has published numerous articles and made editions of viol music for the Cahiers du Tourdion of Strasbourg and the Société Française de Musicologie. In 2004 he was appointed curator of viol music at the *Centre de Musique Baroque* in Versailles.

YVAN BEUVARD has been a member of the Institute of Musicology at the Sorbonne (University of Paris IV), DEA of musicology, associate professor, and then inspector. He is a member of the French Society of Musicology and an editor at Forum Opera and Classique News. He founded a group performing ancient music (Le Virelai) and is choirmaster. He has published numerous articles and reviews in Musicology, Opera Forum and other musical publications.

DAVID PINTO has played with the Jaye Consort and the English Consort of Viols, among others. His editions include some of the major chamber works of William Lawes; his investigations into sources have uncovered a major seventeenth-century collector of instrumental and vocal music, John Browne (Clerk of the Parliaments), and part of his collection in the library of Christ Church, Oxford. He also identified (within the same Aldrich Bequest there) the other comparable collection, by Sir Christopher Hatton II, patron of Orlando Gibbons, and his son Christopher 1st Baron Hatton.

GÜNTER VON ZADOW is the owner of the music publishing house Edition Güntersberg, founded in 1999 together with his wife Leonore. His beautiful editions are

scrupulously edited and prepared. The viol da gamba features strongly in his catalogue and especial attention has been paid to works written in the eighteenth century.

SHEM MACKEY has been making musical instruments for over twenty five years. He trained as a maker of early bowed instruments at the London College of Furniture. He is a founder member of the British Violin Making Association and founder editor of its newsletter. He has a Masters degree from London Metropolitan University with original research into viol construction and is a visiting lecturer at West Dean College. He has written many articles on the viol in trade and academic publications.

JONATHAN WAINWRIGHT is a professor at York University and a musicologist and performer. He has published extensively on English and Italian music of the 16th and 17th centuries, including two volumes of vocal music by Richard Dering in the *Musica Britannica* series. He was editor of the *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* from 1994 to 2010.